DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 109 268 UD 015 130

TITLE National Policy Conference on Education for Blacks: Proceedings, March 29-April 1, 1972, Washington, D.C.
INSTITUTION Congressional Black Caucus, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE Mar 72
NOTE 150p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$6.97 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS Community Involvement; *Conference Reports; Early Childhood Education; Educational Change; Educational Finance; *Educational Needs; *Educational Policy; *Educational Problems; Legal Problems; *Negro Education; Public Policy; Secondary Education; Student Rights

ABSTRACT

These proceedings are a record of the dialogue and presentations that took place at the National Policy Conference on Education for Blacks. Papers and speeches were presented on a variety of subjects stated to be central to the issues of whether education for black people in America is adequate; and whether it must be radically changed. The major papers, prepared to address seven central issues, and the discussions from the workshops on those issues, are summarized herein, along with the speeches and a special session held at the request of a group of the conferees. The seven central issues are: legal aspects of education, school finance, students' rights, community involvement, early childhood education, elementary and secondary education, and post-secondary education. The major speakers were: Representative Louis Stokes, Kenneth B. Clark, Arthur A. Fletcher, Carl B. Stokes, Nathaniel R. Jones, and Vivian W. Henderson. Also included are a statement by the project director, Bernard C. Watson, the conference program, and an "Appendix" focusing on the "occupational and geographical breakdown of conference participants." (Author/JM)

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NATIONAL POLICY CONFERENCE ON
Education for Blacks
PROCEEDINGS

March 29—April 1, 1972

Washington, D.C.

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U.S. House of Representatives
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Foreword

These Proceedings are a record of the dialogue and presentations that took place at the National Policy Conference on Education for Blacks. Papers and speeches were presented on a constellation of issues central to the fact that education for Black people in America is less than adequate and must be radically changed. It is hoped that this document will be widely read by those interested or involved in Black education, for the Conference was the first of its kind. It was the first time Black educators, parents, students and elected officials came together to discuss issues in education for Blacks at a national meeting.

The major papers, prepared to address seven central issues, and the discussions from the workshops on those issues, are summarized herein, along with the speeches and a special session held at the request of a group of the conferees. Limitations of space and cost prohibited the reprinting of the papers in their entirety, however, information on how to obtain copies of the complete papers is included in the appendix.

Summaries of major topic presentations were prepared by their respective authors and have been reproduced without further editing. Major speeches were summarized by Conference staff. For the special session, summaries of the remarks of all but one speaker were prepared by staff. In all cases but one, these summaries have been approved by the person making the remarks. The workshop reports were prepared from the written reports submitted by the recorders of those workshops.

Acknowledgments

It is always difficult to adequately acknowledge the contributions of individuals to any enterprise; to do so for the National Policy Conference on Education for Blacks is almost impossible. Before, during, and following the Conference, individuals from all over the country offered their encouragement and assistance to the Conference Staff. Not only did they offer their assistance, but many actually assumed major responsibilities which they carried out with efficiency and dispatch. To all of those who volunteered, we owe our gratitude.

I would be remiss if I did not give a special note of thanks to Charles Taylor, Ruby Martin, John Warren, Edwilla Massey, Elias Blake, Eric Stark, Charles Sharpe, Eleanor Farrar, Waymon Wright, and Howard Robinson. All of them gave unstintingly of their time. Patricia S. Fleming, the Conference Coordinator, was amazing: she worked long hours seven days a week. Without her, there would have been no Conference.

We are most grateful to Mayor and Mrs. Walter Washington for their support, and to the Institute for Educational Leadership, the National Education Association, and the Johnson Publishing Company for their kind and generous assistance.

We would also like to thank the Center for National Policy Review of Catholic University, the Education and Labor Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives, the Harvard University Center for Law and Education, the Institute for Services to Education, the National Program for Educational Leadership, and the Washington Research Project for their help.

My personal thanks and appreciation go out to all of these individuals and groups, and the scores of others unnamed. Whatever success the Conference experienced is due in large part to their efforts.

B.C.W.

Contents

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL 1

Representative Augustus F. Hawkins to the Congressional Black Caucus

PROJECT DIRECTOR'S STATEMENT 7

Bernard C. Watson

CONFERENCE PROGRAM 19

SUMMARIES OF SPEECHES 33

Representative Louis Stokes 35

Kenneth B. Clark 37

Arthur A. Fletcher 43

Carl B. Stokes 47

Nathaniel R. Jones 52

Vivian W. Henderson 59

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR TOPIC PRESENTATIONS AND WORKSHOP REPORTS 65

Introduction 67

Legal Aspects of Education 69

School Finance 78

Students' Rights 87

Community Involvement 94

Early Childhood Education 98

Elementary and Secondary Education 103

Post-Secondary Education 116

SPECIAL SESSION 129

APPENDIX 147

Letter of Transmittal

Representative Augustus F. Hawkins
Conference Chairman
to the Congressional Black Caucus

9

MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS:

I am honored to present these Proceedings of the National Policy Conference on Education for Blacks to the Congressional Black Caucus.

Federal, state, and local governments are haggling over the costs of education and who should pay them; school districts and the courts are struggling with the problem of who should sit next to whom in a classroom; and the policies affecting Black children most are being made for them often without concern for their best interests. America's educational institutions are failing to do the job they were created to perform—and this is true for Black children and white children alike. Poor quality education for Blacks results in marginal, low-paying, dead-end jobs, and in turn, low quality, segregated housing and health services. Those who need education the most—the Black and the poor—are being failed to the greatest extent. At a time like this it becomes necessary to see clearly how we are being shortchanged and to do something to change these conditions.

Three members of the Congressional Black Caucus are also members of the House Committee on Education and Labor—Representatives Clay, Chisholm, and myself. As we listened to hearings, discussed the issues and elements of education on which pending legislation was based, and introduced our own bills, we understood that there were differences even among the three of us as to how we should attack the failure of today's educational policies, programs, and systems to teach our Black children the basic skills necessary to compete economically and socially. It was obvious to us that it would be necessary to find out what Black people in America were doing and thinking about the national, state, and local policies that govern education across the country.

Not enough Black spokesmen testify at Congressional hearings; not enough lobby for bills they want to see enacted or against those they think should be defeated. There are few Black faces around the tables at which policy decisions are made. There must be some communication, some dialogue, between those leaders whom we do have and the people they serve. The Caucus decided on the National Policy Conference on Education for Blacks as the forum for beginning this dialogue.

The Conference, sponsored jointly by the Caucus and nine national organizations identified with education, called together astute educators, lawyers, civil rights workers, parents and students, and community organizers to discuss questions germane to the most urgent policy issues facing us in education today. Black leaders and thinkers were asked to develop their ideas and present papers on the issues. Each paper was followed by discussions among small groups of participants chaired by outstanding leaders in education.

It is my personal view that the Conference achieved many accomplishments:

- It brought together people from across the United States who did not know each other previously. These participants achieved an amazing degree of harmony and cooperation that I did not totally expect, given the diversity of opinion and ideology on educational issues represented among the conferees. They were clearly drawn together by the need to do something about the crisis in the education of our children and youth.
- The Conference produced a wealth of raw information from the thought and work of Black scholars in the field of education as well as ordinary citizens—information particularly valuable for the Congressional Black Caucus in our legislative work.
- Meetings were held locally both before and after the National Conference that were a direct response to this Conference, thus stimulating smaller, more locally-oriented groups that are concerned with the policy issues as they very directly affect their schools.
- The intellectual and psychological groundwork was laid for the creation of a permanent organization composed of educational and community leaders from all regions of the

United States to act as a watchdog on national educational policies and programs, do research and continuously measure growing or changing needs of Black students and then apply the results in affecting decisions at the policy-making pressure points. Such an organization would add great strength to the Congressional Black Caucus's attempts to improve educational policies as they affect Black Americans.

The diversity of ideologies and opinions represented among the participants surfaced around a number of issues, as we hoped and expected. Issues on which differing views were expressed include: education of Black children for the development of basic skills; education of Black children for the development of a healthy self-concept or self-image; the goals of education—to create a whole human being and/or to train someone for a career; school policies and procedures as determined by parents and students and/or governmental agencies; Black resources and efforts focusing on saving and developing Black colleges and/or focusing on carving out places for more Black students in white colleges.

While the purpose of the Conference was to deal with the problems involved in enforcing and implementing educational and legal decisions subsequent to *Brown v. Topeka* (1954), the question of integration vs. separate education for Black children surfaced and occupied substantial attention. I think the alternatives to integrated classrooms must be carefully examined and questioned from the point of view of financial support, ability to produce measurable increases in achievement levels, their capacity to prepare children for a pluralistic society, and the constitutionality of such approaches.

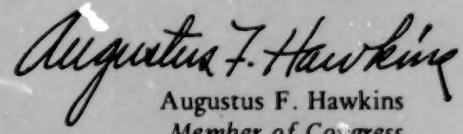
It is possible and desirable to promote Black studies, cultural enrichment, pride in one's history, and community control within the framework of quality, integrated education and constitutional requirements.

Personally, I am strongly of the opinion that segregation, or separatism as a goal, is impractical, genocidal, and self-defeating. However, the reality is that significant numbers of Black children are and are likely to remain in schools and classrooms that are totally Black. We cannot avoid our responsibility to provide quality education for those students where they are and

to insure that they are equipped with the skills, knowledge, and career options that will enable them to function as self-directed, competent citizens in the years ahead, as well as our responsibility to build toward quality integrated education as a goal.

We must not permit emotional rhetoric and irrational schemes to deny our children and young people the best kind of education. Education is for making a living and learning how to live with others in an open society. We had better get on with this unfinished business.

Respectfully submitted,



Augustus F. Hawkins
Member of Congress
Conference Chairman

Project Director's Statement

Bernard C. Watson
Professor and Chairman
Urban Education
Temple University

14

I believe the National Policy Conference on Education for Blacks was a landmark meeting. It brought together 722 men, women, and young adults from 35 states and the District of Columbia, covering a geographic area from Maine to California, from Florida to the state of Washington, and many points in between. Among the Conference participants were 86 students: undergraduates, graduate students, and those attending professional schools. Parents, community leaders, educators, elected officials, and others, including senior citizens, young adults, those in their middle years and youthful adolescents, were able to engage in serious and constructive dialogue about educational issues with a notable minimum of name-calling, personal vilification, and meaningless rhetoric. In short, the Conference participants concentrated on the substantive issues. In my view, this was a signal achievement at what appears to me to be a crucial point in the history of Black Americans.

One could hardly question the importance of the issues highlighted during the Conference: finance; pre-school, elementary, secondary, and post-high school education; legal issues and their implications; community involvement; students' rights; desegregation; and Black-controlled schools. Inevitably, however, many important concerns were not addressed in depth; some were not considered at all. Some participants have noted that such issues as the effect of poverty on education, vouchers, teacher training, methodology, community boards, bilingual-bicultural education, youth gangs and other related organizations, and a host of others were not discussed. They were not,

although almost everyone would agree that these issues are important. But it is an unfortunate reality that no conference of such short duration could provide for a discussion of all or most of these issues in depth. It is no less true, however, that other conferences, on the national as well as the state and local levels, must address these and other crucial issues in the future. It is important that such omissions and shortcomings have been identified as a direct result of this first effort. Hopefully, we shall all profit by the lessons we have learned.

It has been suggested that certain groups and individuals with particular points of view were excluded from or were not represented as participants in the Conference. No particular point of view or organization was intentionally excluded. That is a fact. It may very well be that certain points of view were not expressed during the Conference and/or that certain organizations were not specifically identified. But the Conference was designed, within the limitations of space and time, to include as wide a range of points of view as are represented in the total Black population of this country. That is a goal which all conferences that claim to be national in scope must constantly strive for, even though achieving such a goal is difficult, if not impossible. But beyond whatever differences we might have as to ideology, representativeness, procedure or organization, there are fundamental substantive matters which demand our immediate and sustained attention.

To illustrate, let us consider the number of Blacks attending college. Although the number of Black college students has increased dramatically over the past ten years, only six percent of the Black population of this country enters college. Moreover, recent census figures suggest that a child in a family earning $15,000 a year is three times more likely to attend college than a child from a family earning $5,000 a year. The implications of that statistic are clear when one recognizes that most Black Americans are poor.

Despite the often-reported glowing accounts of open admissions and other special programs for minorities and the poor, as recently as 1968 almost 80 percent of all baccalaureate degrees awarded to Black students were granted by Black colleges, and almost 50 percent of the graduate and professional degrees were

awarded by Black institutions. According to more recent figures, the situation has not improved to the extent that we can become complacent.

Blacks are still under-represented in all of the higher professions. Only two percent of this country's practicing physicians are Black. The proportion of practicing attorneys is also extremely unequal. Consider the fact that there is one white attorney for every 750 white Americans, but there is only one Black attorney for every 5000 Black Americans. Moreover, of the approximately 300,000 attorneys in the United States, less than 4000 are non-white, and of the 4000 only about 2000 are engaged in the practice of law.

The situation is similar for other post-baccalaureate degree programs. Only 1.72 percent of graduate enrollment is Black, and of all the Ph. D. degrees granted between 1964 and 1968, only 0.78 percent went to Black Americans. But without Meharry Medical College and Howard University, the situation would be immeasurably worse. These two predominantly Black institutions are still providing most of our Black doctors and dentists. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education reported that from 1960 to 1969 out of 35,000 M.D. candidates in the United States, 393 were enrolled at Howard and 259 at Meharry. Less than one percent of the students in other medical schools were Black. Out of 15,408 dental students enrolled in the United States, 136 were enrolled at Meharry and 310 at Howard. Only 21 of the 50 dental schools other than Howard and Meharry has any Black students, and most of them had only one. These are only the most obvious illustrations. The important point is that there is a skills and education gap, in both numbers and quality, in the Black population of this country. All of our rhetoric about "helping the community" and working with Black people is meaningless unless we address this problem.

Another point worth noting is a development which poses the danger of reducing rather than expanding access of Black youth to higher education: the desegregation or integration of institutions which were formerly predominantly Black. The Carnegie Commission reports that among formerly predominantly Black colleges, three recently reported more than 50

percent of their students were now white: Bluefield State College, West Virginia State College, and Lincoln University of Missouri. If more than 50 percent of the baccalaureate degrees awarded to Blacks were awarded by Black colleges, can we be sure that Black students who would have entered these colleges had an opportunity to enter others?

And there are other concerns. The depressing situation in public elementary and secondary schools which enroll most of our Black youth is too well known to document anew: lack of student achievement, low levels of skill development, psychological damage and eroding of the human spirit. An equally important concern, however, has little to do with achievement. Even if Black students do well in their programs, one could and should ask the question whether our educational institutions at any level are providing education which will lead to the jobs and careers of the next twenty to fifty years and beyond. Are our educational institutions preparing people for obsolescence, a world of careers which no longer exist? In addition to the standard professions mentioned above, are Blacks being given the opportunity and/or being encouraged to enter areas of promise: oceanography, ecology, transportation, planning and development, communications and media, to name a few?

The questions deserve and demand answers. Without these answers it will be difficult, if not impossible, to develop a relevant agenda for action. I would argue strongly that individual, organizational and factional battles over ideology and philosophy are not only counterproductive; at this point, they are self-defeating. An inordinate preoccupation with specific differences in educational methodology, philosophy or ideology may have the unanticipated consequence of causing us to lose the struggle for educational opportunity and excellence for Black Americans. In my view, it is time to move beyond rhetorical and ideological battles. No single Black person or organization has a monopoly on truth, or honesty, or program. The choice is not between "integration," "desegregation," or "separatism," words which have little or no meaning in and of themselves. Our real choice, it seems to me, is either to begin to define what quality education means for Black Americans, or, as an alternative, to refuse to develop these definitions and

continue to react to and flail against institutions which have been created by others, to carry out educational programs defined by others for purposes of their own. It is the latter choice which too many of us have made. Be that as it may, there is no requirement that we remain in the rut that unfortunate choice created for us.

For one thing, we have the experiences of the Black institutions of higher education to inform us. Many of these institutions, especially the publicly supported ones, were created by whites for Blacks. From the moment of their creation they were intended to be inferior and were designed to channel Blacks into certain areas and fields of endeavor. For years they had boards of trustees which included some of the most conservative and racist individuals in the South. And yet, somehow, incredibly, these institutions managed to take Black youth from separate and unequal schools and prepare them for graduate education and the professions. Somehow they established a pride and dignity and provided the skills which enabled their students and graduates to move into leadership roles, not only in their chosen fields, but also in the national civil rights movement. How did they do it? What were their definitions for quality education for Blacks? How did they do the job, even in the face of almost insurmountable financial difficulties, fear, and the threat and actuality of physical violence? Nobody would argue that they did a perfect job, but then, who has? There is much we can learn from this experience.

What about the Black high schools, south and north, east and west, midwest and far west, that have managed to educate generations of Black youth? What about those desegregated schools that managed to educate both Black and white students without destroying them as human beings? How did they do it? And what about the other side of the coin: What can we learn from the failures? How can we reduce the probability of failure and psychological damage, and increase the probability of success? We must also pay considerably more attention than we have so far done to the very important role played by non-educational Black institutions in motivating and supporting Black young people in their quest for advancement. How did our churches, after-school clubs, settlement houses, and

other Black-controlled agencies help to sustain and inspire Black children who would otherwise have given up altogether in the face of apparently endless humiliation and defeat? And we need to look again, as did the Urban League not long ago, at the data on the Black family. I think we are agreed that its strengths are and have historically been impressive, Dr. Moynihan to the contrary notwithstanding. But have we identified ways to harness those strengths to the educational process?

These are tough questions whose answers will require research, knowledge, analysis, understanding, and sensitivity. But more than any of these, honest answers will require an openness on the part of those who seek such answers. And openness, at least to me, requires the acceptance of alternatives and options. Black people need options if they are to survive. The answers for Des Moines, or New Rochelle, N.Y., may be quite different from those for Durham, N.C. or Jackson, Miss. Ideological positions, polished rhetoric and monolithic schemes, which include the requirement that all Blacks in all places must accept them, are untenable. Moreover, what is appropriate and relevant today may not be so five or ten years hence. Thus constant re-evaluation is imperative:

> *"New occasions teach new duties,*
> *Time makes ancient good uncouth. . ."*[1]

Or, to put it another way: "Different strokes for different folks."

What the Policy Conference, and others I have been involved in over the past few years, suggest to me is that we ought to be about the business of setting priorities and arriving at definitions: educational, legislative and political. As I stated during the last session of the Conference, it is impossible to separate educational issues from the total Black experience: jobs, housing, family and social relationships, economics, politics. But establishing priorities is only a first step. After that come program development and implementation, all of which require work, knowledge, skills and commitment—not rhetoric.

In a very real sense, the survival of Black people is at stake. Recent actions by certain influential and powerful people in this

[1] James Russell Lowell.

country can only lead one to that conclusion. The issue of busing, for instance, is a non-issue, in and of itself. The real issue involves constitutional rights and the protections guaranteed under the United States Constitution. The question is: Are constitutional rights for all Americans or for white Americans only? Can constitutional rights be abrogated by individuals in powerful positions, or does the Constitution reign supreme over the prejudices and political machinations of individuals and organizations? Are constitutional rights subject to popular vote every few years and are they subject to suspension based upon someone's perception of the attitudes of a mythical majority of Americans? In my view, the question Black Americans need to ask themselves is not whether we are in danger of reverting to *Plessy v. Ferguson* with its separate but equal doctrine, but whether the real danger is a return to the *Dred Scott* decision and its doctrine which says a Black man has no rights a white man is bound to respect.

If one looks carefully at what is happening in this country, serious questions need to be asked about certain catch phrases. More and more of the responsibility for certain basic services to people, especially the poor people, is being shifted to higher levels of government: education, welfare, transportation and housing are all slowly being shifted from local to state and federal levels of government. Political boundaries are being changed to include ever larger geographic areas as the Black and minority population approaches a majority in urban areas. Local and state gerrymandering dilutes the potential political power of Blacks. In New York State, for instance, the American Federation of Teachers and the NEA affiliates have agreed to merge and form one statewide organization. A similar merger has taken place at the City University of New York. Such mergers concentrate vast potential power over education and other issues in a single organization. The evidence suggests that such mergers will spread across the country. Given these developments, what do phrases like "community control" mean? If the basic decisions are going to be made at the state or national level and in the political arena, how much influence can a small community have—however well organized—unless it is prepared to operate from a position of strength in the same arenas? As a

presidential commission noted some few years ago, the ghetto was created, is controlled and maintained by whites. This same commission stated that we are moving toward two societies which are separate and unequal. Some of us would argue that we are already two societies. In light of these facts, what does "Black separatism" mean? Will we continue to let others create terms which define our posture and identity or will we begin to define ourselves in our own terms?

Probably the most important thing for us to remember is that our struggle is about survival as human beings. In these difficult days, and in our more difficult tomorrows, the temptation to strike out at each other for perceived differences in tactics and strategy will bear heavily upon us. It is imperative that we resist and actively oppose such tendencies in ourselves and in others. We are a humane and loving people, we care about each other. Were this not so, we would have long since perished under the weight of three hundred years of oppression. Our ability to continue to struggle has been sustained by our basic humanity, our ability to remain humane through centuries of physical and psychological violence. As our humanity has sustained us so we must now zealously nurture and continue to develop it. We do not have to agree on everything, nor should we expect agreement on all things. Unity, not uniformity, must be our goal. We cannot make the fatal mistake of adopting the attitudes and behavior of our oppressors. Name-calling and labeling have little place in our struggle: "Uncle Tom," "Aunt Sarah," liberal, conservative, moderate, militant, separatist, integrationist—are ideological labels with little meaning. We must look at each other in terms of what each of us is doing to advance the program of Black survival and development. If the brother or sister is on the case, moving the agenda forward, right on! If they are not, let's help them join the struggle. There is a role for everyone in the struggle. We don't really have a viable choice in this regard: the survival and development of each Black man and woman are intimately, inextricably, and inevitably linked to the fortunes of all Black people.

There is work to be done. How can we get about the business of defining and advancing our own agenda? I recommend that a National Black Education Commission of not more than

twenty-five Black men and women be appointed by the Congressional Black Caucus and that this Commission be charged with the responsibility of developing next steps. Among the responsibilities of the Commission would be the monitoring of education legislation in the Congress, conducting and/or commissioning research, developing educational priorities on policy matters, and serving as a national forum for moving forward the educational agenda of Black Americans. But it would not be the responsibility of the Commission to speak for Black people; rather, it would be its responsibility to insure that Black points of view are expressed and heard.

There is, in my view, no more appropriate group than the Congressional Black Caucus to appoint this Commission. The members of the Congressional Black Caucus have an identifiable constituency or more than six million people, most of them Black. It would be difficult to question their mandate to represent the views of millions of Black Americans. Serving in the House of Representatives, they must face election every two years, and they will continue to serve in the Congress only as long as their constituencies perceive them to be adequately representing their interests. Moreover, three of their number serve on the House Education and Labor Committee. Even more important, by virtue of the fact that they have organized and do in fact exist as a Caucus, they have become a forum for Black perspectives on a wide range of issues. I know of no other group which can accurately make such claims. It seems obvious to me that it is our responsibility to support, by whatever means necessary, this small but growing group of Black political leaders at the national level.

This recommendation, if implemented, would represent only a beginning. Clearly, we need state, local and regional organizations which would assume similar responsibilities. Many such organizations already exist and have been in existence for years. What we need is concerted action by Black individuals and organizations at every level on every issue in all parts of the country. The National Policy Conference on Education for Blacks was a small beginning. To complete the task ahead will be difficult, and it will not be accomplished overnight. But if not us, who? If not now, when?[23]

Conference Program

24

Conference Program

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29

7:30 p.m. **RECEPTION**
Sponsored by the National Education Association and the Johnson Publishing Company

THURSDAY, MARCH 30

9:00 a.m. **OPENING SESSION**

Remarks
Representative Augustus F. Hawkins,
Vice Chairman
Congressional Black Caucus

Welcome
Representative Louis Stokes, Chairman
Congressional Black Caucus

Speakers

Kenneth B. Clark, President
Metropolitan Applied Research Center
New York, N.Y.

*James E. Ghee, Student
University of Virginia Law School
Charlottesville, Va.

10:45 a.m. **PANEL: LEGAL ASPECTS OF EDUCATION**

Derrick A. Bell, Jr., Professor of Law
Harvard Law School
Cambridge, Mass.

J. Levonne Chambers, Attorney
Charlotte, N.C.

*Robert Carter, Attorney
New York, N.Y.
(Mr. Carter's paper delivered by William Robinson, Attorney, Legal Defense Fund, New York, N.Y.)

12:30 p.m. **LUNCHEON**

Speaker
Arthur Fletcher, Executive Director
United Negro College Fund
Washington, D.C.

MAJOR TOPIC PRESENTATIONS

2:30 p.m. 1. **Legal Aspects of Education**
Chairman
Ruby G. Martin, Attorney
Washington Research Project
Washington, D.C.

*Summaries not available.

2:30 p.m. 2. **School Finance**

Chairman
Donald Harris, Education Specialist
U.S. Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity
Washington, D.C.

Presenter, Public School Finance
Richard G. Gilmore, Vice President
Girard Trust Bank, Philadelphia, Pa.
(Former Deputy Superintendent of Schools, Philadelphia)

Presenter, Higher Education Finance
Hugh Lane, President
National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students
New York, N.Y.

Reactor
Robert Singleton, Director
School Finance Research Project
Los Angeles, Cal.

2:30 p.m. 3. **Students' Rights**

Chairman
John Smith, Administrative Assistant to the Dean
Howard University School of Social Work
Washington, D.C.

Presenter
Arthur Thomas, Director
Center for the Study of Student Citizenship, Rights and Responsibilities
Dayton, Ohio

Reactor
Leon Hall, Director
School Desegregation Project
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

WORKSHOPS ON MAJOR TOPICS

4:00 p.m. **Legal Aspects of Education**

1. *Workshop Leader*
   Algernon J. Cooper, Jr., Attorney
   Mobile, Ala.

2. *Workshop Leader*
   Mordecai C. Johnson, Attorney
   Florence, S.C.

3. *Workshop Leader*
   Herbert O. Reid, Professor
   School of Law, Howard University
   Washington, D.C.

4:00 p.m. **School Finance**

1. *Workshop Leader, Public School Finance*
   Aubrey McCutcheon, Deputy Superintendent
   Detroit Public Schools
   Detroit, Mich.

2. *Workshop Leader, Higher Education Finance*
   Nebraska Mays, Executive Assistant
   to the President
   Fisk University
   Nashville, Tenn.

4:00 p.m. **Students' Rights**

1. *Workshop Leader*
   George E. Harris, Graduate Student
   Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs
   Princeton University
   Princeton, N.J.

2. *Workshop Leaders*

Robert R. Jennings, Student and Academic Coordinator
Frederick Douglass Tutorial Institute
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Ga.

Gerald Taylor, Teacher
Harlem Preparatory School
Harlem, N.Y.

3. *Workshop Leader*
Tim Thomas, Vice Chairman
Students Organization for Black Unity
Washington, D.C.

MAJOR TOPIC PRESENTATION

7:30 p.m. **Community Involvement**

Chairman
Representative William L. Clay, Treasurer
Congressional Black Caucus

Presenter
Preston Wilcox, President
AFRAM Associates, Inc.
Harlem, N.Y.

Reactors

E. Babette Edwards, Co-Chairman
Harlem Parents Union
Harlem, N.Y.

Frederick Jones, Regional Director
NAACP
New York, N.Y.

Barbara Sizemore, Coordinator for
Proposal Development
Chicago Public Schools
Chicago, Ill.

WORKSHOPS ON MAJOR TOPIC

8:45 p.m. **Community Involvement**

1. *Workshop Leader*
   Kenneth W. Haskins, Visiting Professor
   Harvard University Graduate School
   of Education
   Cambridge, Mass.

2. *Workshop Leader*
   Olivia Taylor, Community Worker
   East New York Alliance for Better Education
   New York, N.Y.

3. *Workshop Leader*
   Paul Vance, Principal
   Pickett Middle School
   Philadelphia, Pa.

FRIDAY, MARCH 31

9:00 a.m. **GENERAL SESSION**

Speaker
Carl Stokes, Former Mayor
Cleveland, Ohio

MAJOR TOPIC PRESENTATIONS

10:45 a.m. 1. **Early Childhood Education**

Chairman
Jessica H. Daniel, Assistant Professor
College of Education
University of Oregon
Eugene, Ore.

Presenter
Evelyn Moore, Executive Director
Black Child Development Institute
Washington, D.C.

Reactor
Gregory Simms, Founder
New Approach Method, Inc.
Trenton, N.J.

10:45 a.m. 2. **Elementary and Secondary Education**

Chairman
Charles H. Smith, Associate Director
for Social Sciences
Rockefeller Foundation
New York, N.Y.

Presenter
Robert R. Wheeler, Associate Commissioner
for Elementary and Secondary Education
U.S. Office of Education, HEW
Washington, D.C.

Reactors
Kelly Alexander, Student
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, N.C.

Ron Edmonds, Assistant Superintendent
Michigan State Department of Education
Lansing, Mich.

10:45 a.m. 3. **Post-Secondary Education**

Chairman
Herman R. Branson, President
Lincoln University
Lincoln, Pa.

Presenter
Elias Blake, President
Institute for Services to Education
Washington, D.C.

Reactors

Verda Beach, Dean for Learning
and Institutional Resources
Malcolm X College
Chicago, Ill.

Michael Rogers, Student
Institute of Public Policy Studies
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Mich.

12:30 p.m. **LUNCHEON**

Speaker
Nathaniel Jones, General Counsel
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
New York, N.Y.

WORKSHOPS ON MAJOR TOPICS

2:15 p.m. **Early Childhood Education**

1. *Workshop Leader*
   Georgia L. McMurray, Commissioner
   New York City Agency for Child
   Development
   New York, N.Y.

2. *Workshop Leader*
   Gloria Scott, Director of Institutional
   Research
   North Carolina A&T State University
   Greensboro, N.C.

3. *Workshop Leader*
Theodore Taylor, Executive Director
Day Care and Child Development Council
of America
Washington, D.C.

2:15 p.m. **Elementary and Secondary Education**

1. *Workshop Leader*
James Banks, Associate Professor
of Education
University of Washington
Seattle, Wash.

2. *Workshop Leader*
Warren Hayman, Assistant Superintendent
Ravenswood City School District
East Palo Alto, Cal.

3. *Workshop Leader*
George Hutt, Member
Philadelphia Board of Education
Philadelphia, Pa.

2:15 p.m. **Post-Secondary Education**

1. *Workshop Leaders*
Andrew Billingsley, Vice President
Howard University
Washington, D.C.
Wade Wilson, President
Cheyney State College
Cheyney, Pa.

2. *Workshop Leader*
Benjamin Perry, President
Florida A&M University
Tallahassee, Fla.

3. *Workshop Leader*
Geraldine Woods, Educational Consultant
National Institutes of Health
Washington, D.C.

3:45 p.m. **DIALOGUE**
Chairmen, speakers, presenters and reactors available for informal conversation

7:30 p.m. **BANQUET**

Chairman
M. Carl Holman, President
National Urban Coalition
Washington, D.C.

Speaker
Vivian Henderson, President
Clark University
Atlanta, Ga.

SATURDAY, APRIL 1

9:30 a.m. **GENERAL SESSION**

Chairman
Representative Augustus F. Hawkins

SPECIAL SESSION

Chairman
Luther Seabrook, Principal
Intermediate School 44
New York, N.Y.

Roy Innis, Director
Congress of Racial Equality
New York, N.Y.

Robert S. Hoover, Member
Ravenswood City School Board
Ravenswood, Cal.

Ron Edmonds, Assistant Superintendent
Michigan State Department of Education
Lansing, Mich.

Queen Mother Moore
Universal Association of Ethiopian Women
New York, N.Y.

James Reed, Administrative Assistant
to the Mayor
Etonville, Fla.

Final Wrap-Up Presentation

Bernard C. Watson, Professor and Chairman
Urban Education
Temple University
Philadelphia, Pa.

Summaries of Speeches

36

Opening Remarks

Representative Louis Stokes

I want to welcome you to the National Policy Conference on Education for Blacks. We are here for an exchange of ideas and views on the critical issue of how to attain excellence in education for Black children. On behalf of the Congressional Black Caucus, I want to thank you for coming and to thank our co-sponsors for their invaluable assistance in arranging this Conference.

We are meeting here at a very significant time. For our entire history, we have been struggling with the appalling inadequacy of educational opportunities afforded Black children. From the early days when slaves were not even taught to read, through the civil rights movement of the sixties, to the present busing controversy, education has been a central issue in our struggle for equality.

This nation is now in the midst of an emotional, irrational furor over the issue of busing. This controversy has aroused the basest emotions of people. It has divided the nation and has distracted attention from the real educational issues. We are here not to discuss transportation, but to discuss education. This

Conference can be the vehicle to restore reason and overcome racist attitudes and emotionalism surrounding the busing issue.

I know that you come to this Conference with enthusiasm and anticipation to engage in the serious work of the panels which are scheduled. We will not solve the educational problems of Black children here. We can, however, identify our goals, and develop strategy and propose legislative remedies toward the pursuit of quality education for all American children.

We come from all parts of the country. Many problems in education are peculiar to certain regions. More important, though, we are united by a common denominator. In all parts of this nation, the education of Black children is inadequate—and shamefully unequal.

The millions of youngsters who are our heirs must depend upon us to provide constructive and positive leadership. We cannot simply react to crises. We must unite and lead a fight for both short-run and long-run improvements. Decisions critical to the future of our children must be made based upon our recommendations and our participation. We must participate in that process and do so as effectively as possible. This Conference can pull us together and make our participation meaningful.

It is not enough for us to discuss educational policy here. We must unite around the cause of excellence in education for all children—Black and white. We must take what we learn here and apply it to our local communities.

The fact that you have gathered here from all over America is indicative of the seriousness of the establishment of national policy on the question of education for Blacks. On behalf of the Congressional Black Caucus, I express to you our appreciation for your concern on this grave and crucial issue. I am certain that the time that we spend here together will be helpful to America at a time when America truly needs help.

We will not all think alike here. But we can all agree that if Black children in America had both equal and quality education that there would be no need for this conference. Let us here come together and work together in an enlightened manner, dedicated to the proposition that all children are created equal. And that they are endowed with the unalienable right to the best education obtainable in the nation which they will someday inherit.

Public School Desegregation—18 Years After *Brown*

Kenneth B. Clark

Eighteen years after the historic *Brown* decision in which the Supreme Court held that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," the process of school desegregation is still not only incomplete, but is confronted with a new pattern of barriers—subtle and overt resistances—which would not only postpone, but reverse this process.

Those who are concerned with the quality of education for all American children must intensify their struggle for the desegregation of American public schools if the promises of the *Brown* decision are not to become another in a long list of cynically broken promises for racial justice in America.

The basic premises for the focus of this paper are these:

1. The cases which led to the *Brown* decision of 1954 were argued on the grounds that Negro children in segregated schools were being denied equal educational opportunity because the segregated schools which they were required to attend were inferior.

2. It was also argued that the *Plessy v. Ferguson* doctrine of "separate but equal" inevitably led to inferiority of educational and other facilities provided for segregated minority groups.

3. The Court's finding that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal" is as true today as it was when stated on May 17, 1954.

4. There is no evidence to support the contention that the inherent inferiority of segregated schools will be any less damaging to the segregated children when such segregation is demanded by the victims than when inflicted upon them by the majority group.

5. Segregated schools are insidiously damaging to members of the majority group even as they are flagrantly damaging to members of the minority.

To arrive at a strategy for continuing and accelerating the struggle for public school desegregation, we should briefly review the progress achieved and resistances encountered since 1954. In the years immediately following *Brown*, the struggle was seen primarily as a struggle against the *de jure* segregation of Southern and border states. The problem of the *de facto* segregation of public schools in Northern urban communities did not surface as a significant aspect of the desegregation struggle until the 1960's when the center of gravity of the civil rights movement shifted from the South to the North. Inferior education in the public schools of Northern urban ghettos emerged as a pervasive grievance in the urban riots of this period.

As the pattern of racial unrest and the demands for remedies on the part of Northern urban Blacks increased, resistance to change intensified in the Northern communities. Resistances to the desegregation of *de facto* segregated schools in Northern cities were similar, if not identical, to the resistances to the desegregation of *de jure* segregated schools in the South. This was true in spite of the evidence that the psychological and academic damage to minority group children in Northern *de facto* segregated schools was identical to the damage imposed upon these children in Southern *de jure* segregated schools.

The fact of persistent academic retardation of Negro children attending *de jure* or *de facto* segregated schools was glibly

explained by a variety of educational, psychological and social science theories. Explanations such as the inherent or genetic inferiority of Negro children resurfaced. Some theorists stated that the schools could not be expected to teach the children to read because these children were culturally deprived, came from poor homes, or because their parents were not academically motivated. Some "friends" of deprived Black children even suggested that schools should not attempt to raise their academic achievement because this would frustrate them and result in self-hatred.

It should be noted that these explanations, which have in common the justification of the continued educational deprivation of Negro children, did not become fashionable until after *Brown*, and grew in intensity as desegregation became a Northern "problem."

The process of school desegregation has been further retarded within the past five years or more by the growth of Black separatism. It is important to understand that Black separatism emerged as a result of frustrations at the lack of seriousness in the implementation of desegregation plans throughout the country. The fact remains that the quality of education provided for minority-group children in predominantly Black schools continues to be inferior and the psychological damage inflicted upon them is as great when these segregated schools are demanded by, or allegedly controlled by, Blacks themselves. It must also be recognized that Black separatism effectively strengthens the position of white segregationists.

During this period of desegregation stagnation, a number of educational programs, plans, and gimmicks—all bearing the mark of the discredited "separate but equal" doctrine—were offered to Blacks as substitutes for effective public school desegregation.

The compensatory education programs, the infusion of Title I funds and the increase in such funds have not and probably will not change the fact that racially segregated schools are inferior schools as long as American racism remains the dominant reality of American society and American education.

Both performance contracts and voucher systems have also been offered as panaceas. Performance contracting which obscured the primary contract between taxpayers and school

personnel has been officially pronounced a failure. The voucher system, whose potential abuses far outweigh proposed safeguards, is likely to proliferate segregated schools if ever enacted.

The combined problems of public school desegregation and equitable financing of local public school districts have emerged dramatically in the *Serrano* case in which the California State Supreme Court held that inequities in expenditures for public education among various school districts were violative of the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment. While this judgment has not yet been confirmed by the United States Supreme Court there is every reason to believe that there will be a greater involvement of the states in the financing of public education at the local level and that this increased involvement will be in the direction of equalizing school expenditures throughout the state. If the states take a more active part in the financing of education, they will have to be more concerned with the educational standards and actual achievement of pupils in local school districts. State education boards and commissioners will have to develop effective instruments for measuring the educational efficiency of the public schools, and, therefore, will have to deal more objectively with the critical problem of educational accountability.

While there is the possibility that greater state involvement and support of public education could directly or indirectly facilitate the process of school desegregation, it is also conceivable that the opponents of desegregation could so construe and implement the Court's decisions on educational finance as to retard rather than facilitate public school desegregation.

In this regard, President Nixon's proposals are especially ominous. They must be rejected because:

1. They are racially restrictive.

2. They represent the first attempt since Reconstruction to have the Legislative branch of the federal government enact legislation which would constrict or qualify the rights of minorities.

3. They represent an attempt to return the civil rights movement to a point at or before the *Plessy* "separate but equal" stage.

4. They seek to restrain the federal courts as an independent protector of the rights of minorities.

President Nixon and his advisors must be aware that his proposals threaten the constitutional protection of all Americans and would erode the foundations of a constitutional government, substituting government by the tyranny of whim and passion for a government of law.

In seeking to justify his position, the President stated that some Black separatists were in favor of anti-busing legislation. The fundamental constitutional questions, however, are not answered by this diversion. Constitutional rights can no more be abrogated by the alleged desires of the victims of oppression than by those who would seek to oppress. In seeking to obtain control over all Black schools and insisting upon racially segregated schools, Black separatists are not only pursuing an impossible mirage but they are also accessories to the crime of destroying the democratic safeguards in our constitituional government of checks and balances.

The transparent hypocrisy which now surrounds the anti-busing controversy could have beneficial consequences if it forces those of us who have been concerned with the quality of public education to restate our goals, re-examine our strategies and tactics, and redouble our efforts to obtain for all American children that quality of education which might prevent them from making the near fatal blunders of their parents.

America cannot afford an educational system geared to a world of 19th and early 20th century social realities. Education for the future must accept the fact of diversity among the people of the world; must accept the fact that the status relationship between whites and non-whites has abruptly changed and will continue to change; and must affirmatively accept these changes and make them an integral part of the educational process.

How can we strengthen education in America? We must insist upon the desegregation of American public schools. We must insist upon this because racially segregated schools cannot be equal in a racist society—and there is no need for racially segregated schools except in a racist society.

Beyond this, we must insist that the education now being

provided for children in predominantly Black schools be raised to a tolerable level of academic efficiency. We must demand an improved quality of teaching and supervision in these schools—and we must insist upon reasonable standards and criteria of accountability by those who are being paid by taxpayers to teach. The schools, school officials, supervisory and teaching personnel must be made more responsible to the needs and aspirations of pupils and parents.

And finally, we must see that parents who care about the education of their children become actively involved in assuring high quality of education in our schools. We should give some thought to the development of parent organizations in every urban school district which would have the following primary objectives:

- protecting the educational rights of their children in the public schools;
- holding the school system *accountable* for their children's achievement;
- involving themselves in the actual education of their children, within and outside of the schools;
- monitoring and lobbying in local, state, and national legislatures for effective educational programs to benefit their children;
- and above all to protect the general educational interests of Black children who have been neglected—consigned to the educational dungheap—by an insensitive society.

Education for Survival

Arthur A. Fletcher

I am going to try to be brief but relevant and talk about my experience as Assistant Secretary of Labor and explain why those experiences led me to decide to leave government and for the next three or four years work for education.

I think that, if you'll excuse the expression, we are still in the midst of this "first nigger" syndrome, of saying "I am the first nigger to ever hold this job." What that means is that you're surrounded, that you are all by yourself. This comes out loud and clear when you ask for technical staff-work to be done. You look around and you put in a call for a Black statistician and he can't be found. Then you realize that all the technical information that's going to be coming your way may not be coming from the people that you want the work to be done by. That's when you understand that you are surrounded.

You need Black labor lawyers to help you put together or change a concept. So you turn to the Black legal community and you say: "I need some Black labor lawyers." And they aren't there. This generation has been very successful in getting laws on the books. But in the final analysis the *instruments* of

liberation—like the five Civil Rights Acts—are one thing, but the *tools* of liberation consist of a pool of technical competence and professional minds. That's the survival tool.

Education becomes an offensive instrument, if you have to take the offensive. It becomes a defensive instrument if you have to take the defense. It becomes a diffusing tool if you have to diffuse them once you get yourselves together.

So this is where I am coming from. I'm trying to suggest that a well-developed mind and technical and professional competence are as important as money, or more important.

Before I get to that, I'd like to talk about busing. I helped to raise the first dollar for *Brown v. Topeka*. But *Brown* has never delivered what we had in mind. And I am at this point beginning to seriously wonder whether it can deliver what we had in mind, considering how it has been enforced. There is confusion, not about the principle, but about the process for remedying the ills and establishing the standards.

The question we must ask, is what do we need to do so that the next generation, the one that is in school right now, can occupy all the territory we have captured through the Civil Rights Acts. We can capture enough seats in the House of Representatives, thanks to the Voting Rights Act, to have somewhere between 35 and 50 Black Congressmen before the end of this decade. And I don't mean you should elect Congressmen who don't know what to do after they get there, or that you should appoint Black Assistant Secretaries or Cabinet officers who cannot do their thing technically. What we are talking about now is technical competence, developing expertise within the Black community.

What I would do if I were given ten billion dollars for education would not be to buy houses, not first anyway. I would make sure that what I call the relevant things are taken care of first and then busing wouldn't be a political issue, it would be a practical issue as it relates to equipping this next Black generation to do their thing.

What are the relevant things? To answer that question we must know about where the jobs are going to be in the decade of the seventies. Planning is here; goals for the seventies were being set in 1968. Take ecology for example. The suggestion is

now that the ecology budget should be somewhere between 31 billion and 36 billion dollars, and initially, that creates 50,000 jobs. What you should be asking, from elementary school right on through, is what kind of curriculum is needed, what kinds of folks are you going to be hiring in this ecology thing? What does the ecology work force look like? Now don't give me the story that you all aren't qualified, because there are no ecologists now. This is one time when the white folks and the Black folks are at the starting line together.

This next generation that comes into the work force should be technically capable of doing their thing. That's why I took on the United Negro College Fund. It supplies me with the platform to do what I can to help education become the number one priority in the Black community. And I'm not guessing that that's what it ought to be because my view is based on observations of another depressed group. I was trying to find out how the Jews survived and it turns out that one of the tools of survival was, still is and will continue to be, to develop within each generation a capability profile that says "whatever the program is, we have the capability to participate." Do you need lawyers, we'll supply you with lawyers. Do you need accountants, we'll supply accountants. You tell us what you need and we'll raise a generation that is capable of occupying its rightful proportion of all those jobs, whatever they may be. And if they have to transfer their skills to another occupation, they'll have the mental ability to know how to do it.

Now let me tell you what I want you to do. I am not suggesting that everybody go back to college, but we are short some 1.5 million Black college students today. We have some 500,000 students on college campuses today. We ought to have two million. If this is allowed to continue, we will start off the decade of the eighties experiencing a shortage of about 12 million Black college graduates. That means that the person who is the first to get there in the eighties will still find himself or herself surrounded because he won't have the technical support troops to follow up and do what has to be done in order to make him relevant.

Where are these technicians and professionals going to come

from? Where are they going to be trained? Are we going to train them at some Black institution of higher learning for a change? Some of you colored folks are mixed up on whether Black schools ought to survive or not. But if you take a look at the Black GS 14's in the federal government or the Black military officers, or the Black Congressmen, you will find that a majority, perhaps more than 70 percent, were trained and got their degrees from a Black institution of higher learning. The point I am making is that Black folks don't have to be sitting next to white folks in order to be useful to this system.

My mission is between right now and 1975. I want one million Black folks supporting these schools with a ten dollar contribution each year. I want all of you to become a constituency for Black higher education and get the federal government to turn loose 500 million dollars.

Now that's where I am coming from. I don't want to see another Black generation infested with tokenism by not preparing themselves to occupy more territory than they've captured. That is the issue. Where are we going to be by 1975? If we know where we are going to be by 1975, then we can talk about what we're going to do from 1975 to 1980. I would hope that you will help us decide among other things that Black institutions of higher learning should be a part of the human resources development system in this country.

When it's all over, I hope to leave this here: that we have got our heads tight and we know where we're going. A generation of Black youngsters, are not afraid. This is the first Black generation that is proud and unafraid. But that alone is not going to do it. So let's encourage them to be proud, let's encourage them to be unafraid. But let's also encourage them to get the technical ability to do it when they get there.

Educational Issues and Political Realities

Carl B. Stokes

I welcome any opportunity to join with my own people as we agonize about what we should do in a country in which we are tenants—as we struggle to obtain some participation. While presiding over the lives of over 800,000 people day after day, I learned and also unlearned some things. Specifically, I want to speak to the question of education in dealing with the political and governmental system in which we live.

In December of last year, the National Urban Coalition produced a report on what had happened to this nation since the March 1968 Kerner Commission Report. All of you remember the Kerner Commission Report that totaled many hundreds of pages, but from which only one basic fact was quoted and discussed: That white racism is essentially the cause of having two nations, one white, one Black, separate and unequal. If we agreed with this conclusion, then what is the argument today about separate schools? In fact the Urban Coalition report found that the trend of white racism has continued in this nation, confirming what the Kerner Commission has reported three years earlier. It seems to me that those

who would advocate separatism in the nation are really commenting upon an established fact. So the issue is not whether you want separatism, but whether you enjoy it!

Over and over in the city that I was privileged to serve, I found the manifestations of what has happened to this country as a result of those who are better off being able to isolate and separate those who are defenseless, those who are powerless, those who are unable to provide for themselves.

Following the 1966 riot in Cleveland, somebody documented the fact that a number of schools in the riot area had been built at the time the Emancipation Proclamation was signed! In Detroit, thirty of your schools were found to have been dedicated during the administration of Ulysses S. Grant!

It is amazing, this depth of poverty and deprivation that exists in the cities over which you and I want to exercise control. Let us see what it is we would be controlling. Every city in this country is rapidly becoming three things: 1) Black, 2) Brown, and 3) Bankrupt. If you look at the city in which you live, you have what has been ordered and that is to be separate.

In the cities, 60 percent of whatever money is appropriated for schools has to be spent on non-educational purposes like security and maintenance. In the last year alone, violence has increased in the schools to such an extent that it is no longer a question of violence on the campuses; violence is in the elementary and high schools. Police in uniform are literally patrolling the schools in our big cities.

The schools are staffed by teachers who have on an average less than three years of experience and almost half of whom are not even certified and who are literally spreading their own ignorance to the students.

Services have been cut in every city that I know. As our undereducated and uneducated Blacks and Southern and Appalachian whites join undereducated or uneducated Puerto Rican and Spanish-speaking people in our cities, we have a great compounding of all of those who have little and can expect less from those who wish to maintain the status quo in this country. We have the poor preyed upon. Black women stand eight times as many chances of being attacked in the cities as does any white woman. Over four times as many young Black boys and

girls drop out of school as do young whites. Meanwhile, we are caught up in that terrible national problem of crushing unemployment which more than anything else makes you the victim or slave of those who manage the economic system.

In order to fund the schools of this country, in order to fund the cities of this country, what is it that we must do? Three sources of funding to which we usually turn comes to mind. We have already found that citizens in most cities, especially in the predominantly white areas, are beginning to vote down school bond issues. Whites are also moving to the suburbs. So, obviously, whatever the traditional dependence upon property taxes to fund schools, it is rapidly deteriorating. So we turn to the states and what have we found in almost every state legislature? You have a majority of white legislators who don't come from the cities. There isn't a city in this country that can tell me it is getting funded adequately from these state governments.

Well, then, what about Congress? In a Congress with 435 members, there are thirteen Black members. There are a number of others who are not Black, but are sympathetic. But you have not been able to find in this Congress the kind of response necessary to meet the needs of those who are concentrated in the cities. This you must have if you are going to survive. You explain to me how Congress is going to respond to the needs of Black America when it won't even sit down and talk with its own Black council.

You know, very often you have to look carefully at your friends. I want you to understand that we happen to have a Democratic Congress. The Family Assistance Plan has been there in Congress for over two years. The Revenue Sharing Bill is essential. I don't care how many Black or white mayors you have, if you don't get some money flowing into those cities, I don't believe you will be able to head off the prediction of the Urban Coalition that by 1980 the cities will be totally bankrupt. I want you to understand that in 1968 at the Democratic National Convention one of the specific pledges was that the cities and local governments would receive from the federal government a share of federal income tax to be used for the priorities as the cities would define them. But the same

Democrats are in power in this Congress and they have fought us.

That brings me to the Florida situation and the busing issue. Let me turn to my liberal friends. I have watched almost all the candidates with the exception of Lindsay and Shirley Chisholm, and to a limited extent McGovern, try to out-Wallace Wallace. I want to tell you one fundamental that I learned on the streets of politics. That is, you cannot out-bigot a natural born bigot.

As I watched the busing issue develop and the Presidential candidates' response to it, I could come to but one conclusion: That was, not to get hung up on whether or not racial balance is the issue or whether integration is the issue. The basic, fundamental issue is just plain racism. To those who are my friends and to the liberal whites who say "Carl, I am for equality of education, I am a liberal, I am not a racist, but I am against busing," I say to them those are two irreconcilable positions.

Seven or eight years ago, in almost every legislature, Catholics of this country were moving to get money to provide busing for their children. Despite the Constitutional prohibition of public tax monies being used for parochial education, I sat there and watched the legislators battling over whether or not the money should be provided for busing. The issue was *never*, I repeat, *never*, should children be bused. It was not even really the legal definition of separation of church and state. The real issue was the anti-Catholic sentiments that were held by most of the majority Protestant members of the state legislature. If it was the anti-Catholic feeling that was the basic and fundamental issue then, I am telling you that it is the anti-Black racism that is the basis of the busing controversy today.

I happen to be one of those who subscribe to the position that racially and socially homogeneous schools damage the minds of young boys and girls. I do not know how you can learn to survive in the world in which we happen to be tenants if you are not exposed to the processes and to those who happen to determine what the processes of this country will be. I am unable to avoid the practical understanding that when you concentrate helpless and powerless people together, the only thing that they can learn from each other is how helpless and powerless they are.

As I look at what needs to be done in this country, I happen to understand that I cannot become a United States Senator, I could not have become mayor, I cannot be governor, I cannot become—I don't want to become—President, if I have to rely on what is acknowledgedly a minority vote.

As I look at my young girls and boys who are concentrated in the undernourished, understaffed, underfinanced schools, I would have to say that the scholastic achievement of those disadvantaged children is directly related to whether or not they remain in racially isolated and socio-economically separate systems. God knows, I say send my boy over there to where the white kid is.

The Metropolitan Approach to School Desegregation

Nathaniel R. Jones

I come here not as an educator—but as a lawyer, to outline for you where, in my judgment, we are headed in the school litigation field. This Conference is dealing with strategies for improving educational opportunities for Black children. In this connection, we must keep in mind the role that law has played and will continue to play. Law is central to the resolution of the educational crisis.

I would like to talk to you, candidly and unemotionally, about the development which sees Federal judges in Richmond and Detroit reaching across political or city boundaries to suburban communities in order to effectively desegregate their respective school districts.

The Richmond case grew out of a dual school system that had been segregated by law. After attempting to effectuate desegregation by voluntary devices, the court, on a Board of Education sponsored motion, ordered new hearings into the metropolitan approach. In January, in a 325-page opinion, the court decreed that to desegregate schools in Richmond a new

district had to be created including not only Richmond, but the suburbs as well.

In Detroit, a Federal judge this week ruled that it would be futile to attempt to desegregate the Detroit schools alone and accordingly, has ordered hearings on a metropolitan plan. This was done in the face of a request by the Justice Department for a delay.

Detroit is a Northern community and has a system that is not directly segregated by State law. Even so, the judge has made a finding that this system is segregated as a *result* of government policies, both state and federal.

The significance of this decision is that if a system as progressive as Detroit's can be shown to be *de jure* segregated, any major system has the same vulnerability.

First, I will give you some background on the Detroit suit, which has been in litigation since August, 1970. The Detroit Board of Education's majority, and its then superintendent, decided to attempt to modestly desegregate the system. A plan was approved known as the "May 7 Plan." It would have moved a few children around, but their numbers were insignificant in comparison to the 300,000 students in the system. Yet, reactions from whites came. Some took out recall petitions and threw out the few liberal board members who had voted for the desegregation plan.

The legislature got into the picture by enacting into law a bill that suspended the implementation of the plan for one year.

The Detroit Branch of the NAACP sought legal help from our office to stop state legislature interference with desegregation attempts by the Detroit schools. Upon our analysis of the facts, we concluded that the situation was indistinguishable from that which existed in Alabama when Wallace stood in the schoolhouse door, Faubus of Arkansas tried to block admission of the nine Black children of Little Rock to Central High; and from Governor Barnett's efforts to bar James Meredith from the University of Mississippi.

Thus, we felt obligated to sue the State of Michigan.

Our further analysis convinced us that the school system of Detroit was segregated—and becoming more segregated. Black parents showed us data which clearly indicated that schools in

Detroit were not segregated by chance, but resulted from a deliberate policy that had been pursued over a long period of time. In recent years, under an enlightened Superintendent, Dr. Normal Drachler, a number of innovative steps were taken. Yet, the effects of the old policies lingered—so pervasive had they been.

At that point we made a second decision—and that was to also sue the Detroit School Board for operating a segregated system.

With regard to our attack on the state's attempt at nullification, we lost before the District Judge who refused to deal with the question. That forced us to go to the Court of Appeals which reversed and declared the act of the Michigan legislature to be an act of nullification. It ruled that once a school board acted out what it considers to be a constitutional obligation to vindicate rights of Black children, such an act cannot be rescinded or interfered with by the state.

We then returned to the District Court in Detroit and, after much skirmishing, got down to a trial on the merits of the case. The trial, lasting some 41 days, saw the presentation of over 300 exhibits, and the testimony of a variety of witnesses. The judge at its conclusion, ruled that the Detroit Board of Education was operating a *de jure* segregated system; that the segregation resulted from governmental action—local, state, and federal.

Further, the court held that the school board built its attendance system on top of a segregated housing structure, knowing that the natural, probable, and foreseeable consequences of such policies would be segregation in schools.

The judge concluded that the board was guilty of discrimination. The court felt that this situation justified judicial intervention in order to eliminate the identifiable "black" and "white" schools and institution of a unitary system—thereby bringing it into compliance with the Constitution. Under these circumstances, it has a clear duty to eliminate from the Detroit schools all vestiges of state-imposed segregation. The court's power to fashion complete and effective relief, once such a finding is made, is broad.

This week the court rejected corrective plans affecting only Detroit. It was the view of the judge that plans that were

limited to the Detroit system—which is presently 65 percent black—would be an exercise in futility.

With that background, we now come to the matter of metropolitan desegregation. The judge feels that such a remedy is the way to effectively deal with the segregation that the State of Michigan played a part in creating.

In so doing the court is following the example of many other situations in requiring that existing school district boundaries be disregarded or restructured and separate governmental units ordered to consolidate, or to exchange pupils and resources.

The power to reorganize school districts, to eradicate state-imposed segregation is not novel; it was specifically recognized in *Brown II* as one type of remedy which may be utilized in formulating an adequate remedy.

TRANSPORTATION

Under any plan of desegregation with metropolitan dimensions, there will be some degree of transportation or busing involved. What is necessary for blacks at such a juncture is to be on guard against a plan that would unduly decimate the minority community while leaving white communities intact.

Suits seeking metropolitan relief are also now pending in Grand Rapids, Mich., and Indianapolis. Within a short period of time a metropolitan suit will be filed in Dayton, Ohio. There will be others in the South as well as the North.

Although several other speakers have talked about busing, allow me to add a word. We can take note of the words of the Supreme Court in the famous *Brown* case. In plain English, that case means every black child in America has a constitutional right to be educated and to learn without any impediments being thrown in his path because of his color, and when a court finds that the right is being interfered with, there is a clear duty on the court to provide a remedy to that black child.

Nobody—and I emphasize nobody—including the President of the United States, has the power to mess with a court as it attempts to provide a remedy to that black child.

But we all know that even though he lacks the power to do so himself, the President of the United States is attempting to

bludgeon the Congress to do what he knows is unconstitutional, namely, to nullify the Fourteenth Amendment. He is trying to get the Congress to change the rules of the game in the middle of the game.

Let us consider what the legislation proposed by the President on the subject of busing seeks to do:

For one thing it encompasses and legitimatizes the techniques and devices for perpetuating inferior education that courts have consistently rejected. They include the neighborhood school, voluntary open enrollment, majority-to-majority transfer schemes and stopping implementation of court orders pending appellate review.

Furthermore, it seeks to "nip in the bud" the use by trial courts of metropolitan relief to remedy violations of rights by prohibiting the judges from altering district lines. This provision alone would run smack into the law clearly established in reapportionment and school finance cases. It is dangerous because it allows the State to relieve itself of Fourteenth Amendment responsibilities by continuing to carve out a variety of school districts that would be free of constitutional restraints.

If there is any doubt as to the intent of the sponsor of this bill to turn America back to separate-but-unequal, consider Section 406 of the legislation. It provides that school districts already desegregated under court order may apply to courts for a reopening of their cases and a modification of orders already in force, including the landmark *Swann* case. It is estimated by the President's spokesmen that the number of cases likely to be reopened will number 100.

Those who are supporting a halt to busing do not seem to be the least bit concerned that their success would nullify the Supreme Court's unanimous opinion in the *Brown* case. What is even more ominous, is that their success may also lead to a repeal and nullification of equal rights in other forms. Once a section of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is effectively bypassed, as the Nixon Doctrine seeks to do, the incessant effort to make a dead letter of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and of the Fair Housing Act of 1965, and of the Fair Housing Act of 1968, will proceed with new ingenuity and new vigor. This whole anti-busing crusade is but another way of reinstating racial

segregation in this country. They intend to return black people to the back of the bus in every phase of American life. This legislation will be promptly challenged in the courts before the ink is dry should the Congress panic and pass it.

No one here quarrels with the need to upgrade ghetto schools through the infusion of more money and other resources. But why cut off the access of black kids to better schools which they can now reach on school buses?

Let us not get caught up in the numbers game. This is the game that opponents of busing and the media play when they cite the numbers of percentages of people for or against busing.

Bear in mind that we are talking about constitutional rights. A constitutional right runs to each individual. It is personal. One's enjoyment of a right is not conditioned upon how many other people favor it. If only one black child desires to exercise his constitutional right, no majorities can interfere.

Inasmuch as this Conference is concerned with improving and elevating the access of black children to the best possible education, it goes without saying that bus rides, to the extent that they accomplish this, must be clearly and unequivocally supported. And those who would cut off the bus ride in the name of improving quality education, should be challenged at every turn, for we know whereof they really speak. As Dr. Kenneth Clark has well written: "Any attempt to curtail the power of the judicial branch of the federal government to protect the rights of the minorities. . .is a threat to the foundation of a dynamic democracy, an invitation to authoritarian government and serious danger to civil rights and liberties."

The *Plessy v. Ferguson* doctrine was a fulcrum through which poured the venom of racism into every aspect of American life. It infected education, housing, the court system, the employment field and even tightly wove itself into the fabric of American thought. And it can be safely predicted that the pernicious Nixon Doctrine, if enacted into law, will have the same result. It aims to get those blacks out of white schools who are now there; keep out those who are not yet there; and to more tightly contain the majority of black children in their present inferior schools.

If there is one thing that black people in this country have, it is faith. As I get around the country I see this faith manifested—in Little Rock and Louisville; in Dayton and Boston, to name just a few places.

It is that faith, you can be sure, that will prompt black people all across the country to resist with every ounce of their energy, any attempt by President Nixon, Governor Wallace and the band of constitutional rapists with whom they have aligned themselves, to wrest from them their hard won gains and "turn them 'round" to the days of *Dred Scott* and *Plessy v. Ferguson.*

Welling up inside of blacks is a mood—a mood of determination. It is a mood that grows out of an awareness of where they have been and where they are going. It is a mood that allows them to understand, as clearly as they ever have, Claude McKay's words:

> *"If we must die, let it not be like hogs,*
> *Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,*
> *While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs*
> *making their mark at our acursed lot.*
>
> *Like men we will face the murderous cowardly pack,*
> *Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!"*

Priorities in Higher Education for Blacks

Vivian W. Henderson

I am an economist by profession and a college president by accident. Because I come from the world of education, and this is a conference on educational policy, I want to talk about that world. There are other realms of housing, of political rights, or economic opportunity that may be equally important, but except for the economic problems I can't speak of them with the same authority.

I want to comment on five items to which I give highest priority. All carry with them the hopes, and fears, and future of Black people, and of white people as well, in the American republic. I stress this point about white people because I think we Blacks sometimes forget, in focusing so intently on our own very real problems, that it isn't only our future that is tied up in the problems we have of achieving equality in American society. It is also the future of everyone else in that society.

The first matter I want to talk to you about is the need to reduce racial isolation in our schools by every possible means. In all the talk there has been about the evils of busing, I haven't heard enough about the simple proposition that racial

segregation, however caused, creates for its minority group victims a permanent sentence to second-class citizenship. There is no way to make racially segregated schools equal schools and more important, there is no way to undo in later life the disqualifications imposed by racial segregation.

You and I must be vigilant, forceful, united and courageous on this subject. More than the schools are at stake. The free society that many Americans have given their lives to create can never be built on a doctrine of accepting racial separation in the name of convenience and personal preference. The fact is that in and of itself, busing is neutral. It is neither good nor bad, unless it is excessive. It offers a way to get to an educational institution which may be worth the trip or not because of its characteristics—not the characteristics of the bus ride. No racially segregated institution is worth a bus ride; many integrated institutions are worth it. And this goes whether it is Blacks going to the white school or whites going to the Black school.

I know that there have been some Blacks in recent years who have advocated a new kind of separatism on Black initiatives. To me that view is self-defeating. We Blacks need the identity and the confidence which comes with running some of our own affairs and providing leadership for significant enterprises. But we must not confuse Black leadership, management, control and involvement with racial exclusion by philosophy and design. There is nothing wrong with having Black institutions. But there is much wrong with Black institutions that are racially exclusive.

So I ask you to support the legislation for emergency federal school aid to assist with integration of the schools and to mount all possible pressures against crippling, anti-busing amendments. If this country were to pass a constitutional amendment to enable legal segregation of schools, it would set race relations back more than 50 years.

The second matter on which I want to comment is the absolute requirement that we transform the schools in our urban centers so that they serve more effectively the children who attend. I am no expert on inner-city schools, but I know that they are increasingly populated by Black children and that they are under-financed and sometimes ineffective institutions. I do

believe that you hold in your hands a portion of the solution to the problem of the city schools. The amount of federal money those schools get and what they can use it for is decided in the halls of Congress. No decision that is made has more important implications for the future of America.

It is fashionable to be critical of federal efforts in providing additional monies to the schools by saying that the federal programs have failed. The fact is that the programs have been too small and have only just gotten started. Over the past five years of trial and error, we have learned that without changing the entire program of the schools, retraining the teachers, rethinking the curriculum and above all, altering the human relationships that exist there, we are probably not going to get anywhere. To do these things will require still more money and more time than we have invested to date.

It is the duty of Congress and the Congressional Black Caucus to make sure that the resources from the federal government get to the people who need them the most—the poor people and the Black people of both our urban and rural areas. So I ask you to think twice—particularly in connection with the Administration's plans for "revenue sharing"—about the proposition that the federal government has no place in the schools except by turning its money over to the states. Black people know so well that state government has provided them precious little for the last 100 years, and that the Supreme Court, the Congress and a couple of Presidents have done more to bring them long-denied rights than all the other institutions in society put together.

This need for adequate funding brings me to my third point, the much talked about value added tax. Make no mistake about it: the value added tax is nothing but a national sales tax. As such, it is regressive. It takes proportionately more money from the poor than from the rich. It would be an affront to low income Americans, too many of whom are Black. This proposal, masquerading as a relief to property taxpayers, will move money from the have-nots to the haves and won't necessarily help the schools. So if this notion surfaces in the Congress, I hope you'll have the nerve to see it for what it is—regardless of the tricky phrases persons in positions of power and influence may issue.

The way to get more money into all our domestic social

programs, including education, is to use the greatest instrument of public policy and social policy this country has ever devised, the progressive income tax.

The fourth item on my agenda is the general problem of adequate financing for higher education in the U.S. Here, there are two broad issues: 1) how are we going to make it possible for every person who wants and can benefit from higher education to have that opportunity; and 2) how are we going to maintain a healthy, diverse set of institutions interested in changing their programs to meet the constantly changing needs of society. I suggest that you use your influence to guarantee that the program that emerges from the Conference Committee, which is considering the higher education bill, has at least half of its financing based on the Senate-sponsored principle of direct assistance to those colleges that attract federally aided students. The remainder can then be based on the idea supported by the House of Representatives for direct payoff to colleges on the basis of the number of students they happen to have, regardless of their economic status.

Fifth, and finally, I want to comment on the situation of the kind of institution I now lead, the predominately Black colleges of this country. These institutions have been short-changed by every funding agency there is, public and private. It seems to me that one of the greatest services you could perform would be to use your influence in ways that will insure the effective flow of the new monies—some 40 million dollars are proposed in President Nixon's budget for the Developing Institutions Program—to a group of institutions in dire need and which include the most important set of institutions under Black control and leadership in this country. They are an important national resource. They continue to this day to graduate 70 percent of all Black college graduates in this country. Their future is important to all of us.

One of the problems we face in Black education, both in college and in elementary and secondary schools, is the absence of a vehicle or mechanism by which to continually bring the best thought to bear upon the problems. We do not have a firmly established research base which can continually set forth problems, solutions and policies for Black education. This is

unfortunate. Significant pressures can be brought to bear on funding agencies, public and private, on policy makers and the educational establishment itself, only to the extent that proper information is available. The time is long overdue for the establishment of a well-financed and well-staffed Commission on Black Education under the leadership of Blacks with the express purpose of dealing with the problems and finding solutions and recommending policy regarding the education of Blacks. This Commission should be privately endowed and have the freedom to act and move according to policies and programs the Commission sets for itself. I urge your support for this proposal.

Summaries of Major Topic Presentations and Workshop Reports

66

Introduction

The issues that hold considerable importance for the educational experience of Black people in America are both numerous and complex. The issues are also so closely interrelated that it is difficult to assign priorities. The legal aspects of education, school finance, community involvement, students' rights, early childhood education, elementary and secondary education, and post-secondary education were the issues that the National Policy Conference attempted to address most directly. The issues were chosen because they are clearly among the most important. Further, these seven issues appear to have the greatest potential for encompassing a dialogue about a whole host of related matters that would add considerably to the quantity and quality of ideas discussed at the Conference.

A review of the papers presented at the Conference and the workshops that followed them reveal certain common themes. The legal, economic, political, and educational implications of a variety of proposals for changing the basic governance patterns of schools Black children attend received a great deal of attention during the Conference. Strategies for achieving equity in educational expenditures and strengthening Black educational

67

institutions were also discussed in a variety of such contexts. A consistent recommendation was for the establishment of a national body to continue the work of the Conference in a much more in-depth and systematic fashion.

These summaries of the major topic presentations and the various workshops indicate, not only the tremendous amount of work and thought that were part of the Conference, but also the extremely important tasks that remain to be assumed.

B.C.W.

68

LEGAL ASPECTS OF EDUCATION

Integration: Is It a "No-Win" Policy for Blacks?

Derrick Bell

The almost 200-year effort by Black parents to overcome white resistance to quality public schools for their children now faces a crisis that is no less serious because, while nominally focused on the worth of busing to achieve school desegregation, it in fact serves as a vehicle for a debate by white America as to whether the nation has gone "too far" in supporting Black demands for equality in their society.

Whites at every level deny that their opposition to busing reflects their approval of racially segregated schools, but the growing racial isolation in housing patterns reveals such protestations as merely another manifestation of the traditional pattern of white America's racial behavior: a public posture espousing the democratic ideal combined with policies that maintain Blacks in a subordinated status.

The Supreme Court's 1954 decision enabled the country to improve its self-image and its well-being at minimal cost to most of the country. Now, the indications that a few courts are ready to enforce the long-postponed *Brown* mandate barring racially-

69

identified public schools, has aroused passions in the North, where school desegregation was believed a "southern problem," and renewed hope to a South still far from defeated in its decades-long effort to avoid compliance with *Brown*.

The opposition has taken the form of proposed legislation and even constitutional amendments which, while aimed at "forced busing," could repeal the principle of the Fourteenth Amendment which is the legal foundation for most Black claims to equality under the Constitution. If there is any doubt that the danger to Black gains in education and elsewhere is real one need only recall the 1876 compromise when Rutherford B. Hayes, a Republican, secured the presidency by promising Democrats he would remove federal troops from the South, thereby insuring that the disenfranchisement of Blacks could be completed without interference.

As a practical matter, school integration has not proved an unmixed blessing for Blacks. There have been models of success, but there have been many more examples of resistance by whites and harassment of Blacks. Educational gains have been far from uniform, and the enthusiasm of Black parents to undergo these rigors has waned noticeably, a factor gleefully noted by busing opponents whose opposition over the years to school desegregation is the major cause of Black disenchantment.

In view of the growing opposition to busing, there is a strong temptation to compromise on the issue, accept the reality of all Black schools and trade away the possibility of integrated schools in return for additional funds, community control, or a combination of both.

But the temptation loses its appeal when confronted with two lessons gleaned from the American racial experience:

1. The inferior social, economic, and political status of Blacks is not an accident, but was created and maintained by the relative advantage it provided whites. Substantial upgrading in the status of Blacks threatens the superior status of whites who will not make what they deem an unfair sacrifice unless required to do so. Thus, the effort to compromise on school integration will not be rewarded by whites with concessions, but will simply remove the moral question posed by Black resistance, and will lead today as it did when Booker T. Washington attempted his

70

famous "Atlanta Compromise" in 1895 to a more abandoned disregard for Black rights than would otherwise occur.

2. There are, for the great majority of Black children, no alternatives to school integration that offer a brighter hope of quality education. Compensatory education, tuition grants, equalized school funding, community control all have been tried, and there have been a few instances of impressive success. But in the main, the powerlessness of Blacks and the unwillingness of whites to alter educational structures deemed favorable to them, has transformed such experiments into separate and highly unequal school failures.

Violence and student harassment in integrated schools is a serious problem and more should be done by courts and educators to deal with it. But these school disorders only mirror the racial antagonism of the communities they serve. Indeed, to the extent that education prepares students for living, the absence of racial conflict may poorly prepare students for living in America as it is and as it is likely to be for a long time.

In summary, while the mixing of Black and white school children does not guarantee a quality education for either racial group, the right of Blacks to an integrated education makes possible a legal and political climate in which the potential for quality education for Black children (even in alternative school experiments) can exist and grow.

White resistance to integrated schools represents the contemporary manifestation of the traditional belief that America is a white man's country. It must thus be opposed even by Blacks who are convinced that the educational merits of integrated schools are overstated, misconceived, or simply nonexistent. The right of Black children to attend integrated public schools—quite literally whether exercised or not—is a right that is crucial not only to the success, but also to the survival of Blacks in this country.

71

LEGAL ASPECTS OF EDUCATION

The Case for Continued Integration of Schools

J. Levonne Chambers

The goal of quality education will be realized for black Americans only by further struggle to attain and maintain integrated school environments. Methods of achieving that goal will necessarily be diverse. In the vast majority of rural or medium-sized school districts in the North and South, the methods currently being utilized, e.g., pairing, clustering, busing, reorganization of geographic zones, will continue to work as effective tools of desegregation. Major metropolitan areas such as Washington, Atlanta, and New York present other problems, solutions to which are only now receiving necessary consideration. An absence of tried and proven solutions for those centers in no way excuses abandonment of workable remedies in other districts housing over half of the country's black population. The decisional law on school desegregation has been fashioned in medium-sized southern school districts but the holdings and their implications are equally applicable to education for blacks nationwide.

Any discussion of the present legal rights of blacks must begin from an historical perspective.

In 1857, the question of equal rights for blacks was raised and answered by the Supreme Court in the *Dred Scott* decision in this way:

> *The question is simply this: Can a Negro, whose ancestors were imported into this country, and sold as slaves, become a member of the political community formed and brought into existence by the Constitution of the United States, and as such become entitled to all the rights, and privileges, and immunities, guaranteed by that instrument to the citizen. . .We think they [can] not. . . .On the contrary, they were at that time considered as a subordinate and inferior class of being, who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and government might choose to grant them. . .Dred Scott v. Sanford,* 15 L.Ed. 691 (1857).

Subjugation of blacks was thereafter practiced with impunity in every sphere of American life, including education. Not until nearly a century later did the Supreme Court call for an end to racial discrimination in schooling. The 1954 decision of *Brown v. Board of Education* held that separation of the races in public schools damaged black children, and thus violated equal protection guarantees of the Constitution. Yet from 1954 until 1968 every effort was made to thwart its realization.

Reaction to *Brown* was in some instances violent. Governor Faubus of Arkansas, for example, used units of the National Guard to prevent nine black children from desegregating schools in Little Rock, Arkansas.

More effective measures were taken within the legal system to delay or prevent desegregation of schools. Southern Congressmen pledged to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of the *Brown* decision in a document known as the "Southern Manifesto." Thereafter, state legislators adopted pupil placement laws, school boards closed school systems, provided tuition grants for white children to attend private schools, and approved

freedom of choice school attendance plans which maintained the status quo.

Through all the schemes, blacks continued to bear the burden and to fight virtually alone to attain their legal rights.

School desegregation efforts were reviewed by the Supreme Court in terms of burden on blacks for the first time in *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County*, 391 U.S. 430 (1968). The court therein invalidated a freedom of choice plan in a rural Virginia school district because it had failed to create a unitary system. In so holding it stated emphatically that the burden to desegregate was on the school board, not on black parents and children. The invalidation of plans placing responsibility of the desegregation process on blacks was tacit recognition of the vulnerability and powerlessness of the black community to revolutionize a major institution over the opposition of the majority population. Moreover, the board had an obligation to do more than take *pro forma* steps to desegregate schools—the duty was to take the approach which promised the most speedy and most effective conversion to a system without "white" schools and "black" schools, but just schools (391 U.S. at 442). Implicitly, then, for the first time, the court rejected the pattern of one-way integration. Black schools as well as white schools would have to undergo immediate change in racial identity. A year later the court extended this ruling by announcing that school districts must integrate first and litigate later, reversing the pattern prevalent to that point. [*Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education*, 396 U.S. 19(1969).]

The Court's commitment to equal treatment of blacks in an educational context was further amplified in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Board of Education*, 402 U.S. 1 (1971) wherein it unanimously upheld a plan calling for cross-busing of students in paired grades between inner-city black enclaves and outlying white schools.

Tremendous progress has been made as a result of *Green*, *Alexander* and *Swann* in the vast majority of southern school districts in dismantling the dual system. Efforts to desegregate northern centers are beginning to bear fruit. New types of problems, such as expulsion of black students and demotion of

black teachers and principals are now receiving priority among civil rights lawyers.

Few anticipated in 1954 the hardships blacks would be required to endure in order to secure an equal educational opportunity. The very welcome and long overdue movement toward cultural adhesion and identity within the black community makes further suffering in efforts to realize equal education in an integrated environment even more unpalatable. The enemy remains, nonetheless, any system the result of which is the continued containment of the black population in its present economic posture.

If blacks fail to break down barriers of racial isolation wherever found in public education the race will remain in the words of Justice Taney "a subordinate and inferior class of beings, subjugated by the dominant race, and whether emancipated or not, yet subject to their authority, with no rights but such as those who hold the power and government might choose to grant us." Integration and the self-determination it allows must continue to be goals of highest priority to the black community.

75

Workshops on the Legal Aspects of Education

Chairmen	*Recorders*
Ruby G. Martin	William Cofield
Algernon J. Cooper, Jr.	Naomi Rose
Mordecai C. Johnson	Michael Ouckama
Herbert O. Reid	Lenton Aikins

MAJOR ISSUES

1. Acquisition, utilization, and distribution of federal funds.

2. Student and teacher rights
   a. Illegal suspensions and expulsions of Black students.
   b. The pros and cons of teacher and administrator tenure.
   c. Teacher unions.
   d. Educational and legal implications of standardized testing and tracking.
   e. Displacement of Black teachers and administrators.

3. Racial imbalance; desegregation; busing; community control.

4. Legal implications of the various school finance proposals.

5. Shortage of Black lawyers to work on educational issues, and the related problem of providing communities with legal information in understandable terms.

6. Curriculum and text books.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Develop and support a national policy to guarantee that federal funds are distributed effectively and that equitable shares are channeled into the Black community for program development.

2. Develop and support effective policy to address the problems of racial imbalance.

3. Follow up this Conference with other conferences—annually at the national level, with intermittent conferences at the local, state, and regional levels.

4. Provide legal information on several levels of understanding.

77

SCHOOL FINANCE

The Financing of Elementary and Secondary Public School Education

Richard G. Gilmore

The present financial crisis facing the nation's 18,000 school districts and their 51 million school children has received greatest publicity from the plight of the large urban systems, but the problem is national in scope and it has occurred despite vast increases in educational fundings:

1. Total national expenditures increased from $2.3 billion in 1930 to $39.5 billion in 1970.
2. Percentage of gross national product expended for education has gone from 2.2% in 1930 to 4.2% in 1970.
3. During the 10-year period ended 1970, public school expenditures increased 155.2% (pupil attendance increased only 29.8%) while the consumer price index rose only 25.8%.

Relative shares of school revenues have shifted from local governments to state and federal governments:

	1930	1970
Local	82.7%	52.7%
State	17.0	40.7
Federal	0.3	6.6

A major reason for inequality of educational opportunity is the wide variation of per pupil expenditure both within states and among states. For example, in Missouri, the highest district per pupil expenditure is $1,699, the lowest is $213, and the average is $720. As among states, a district in Wyoming is reported as spending $14,554 per pupil. Texas' highest district per pupil expenditure is $5,334. Low district per pupil expenditures are found in Missouri, $213, and Maine, $229.

Local revenues for schools are derived primarily from property taxes, accounting for about 98 percent. Local non-property taxes are available to only 22 states and produce very little revenue for the districts imposing them.

State revenues for schools are generated by sales taxes (levied by 45 states), personal income taxes (levied in 41 states), corporate income taxes, and various excise taxes. In 1969, the 45 states that imposed sales taxes generated $12.3 billion in revenues, 30 percent of all state tax revenue.

Wide disparities exist in the efforts of states to support public education. The nation as a whole expended 6.24 percent of net personal income (n.p.i.) for elementary and secondary education in 1969. Alaska was lowest in n.p.i. contribution at 5.0 percent; New Mexico was highest at 8.9 percent.

Federal funds for elementary and secondary education are special or categorical in nature, unlike revenues generated locally and unlike most state funding provided for schools. About 40 percent of federal funding emanates from Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1965, and, therefore, is available only to support projects designed to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children in school attendance areas having high concentrations of children from low income families.

The range of alternatives for funding public education is not unlimited. Ultimately, individual taxpayers must bear the cost. The question, then, is which source or combination of sources

presents the best choice. The traditional financial and administrative responsibility for public education has rested largely with the states. Taxing capability has severely limited the extent to which local governments can contribute to the support of schools, especially in large urban areas all of which are beset with problems of funding municipal services. It becomes rather obvious that any solution will undoubtedly require a massive increase in federal funding and little, if any, continued dependence on local funding. Federal funds are necessary to equalize educational opportunity among states; state funds could be utilized to equalize within a state; and the role of local government, incapable of significant financing, could very likely be management and implementation.

A viable plan for financing public education would be but a temporary solution if unaccompanied with strategies and mechanisms designed to curb rapidly escalating costs.

The monitoring of educational expenditures, including the imposition of restraints on collective bargaining for teachers, and other educational employees, will be necessary if continued, extraordinary escalation in costs, unaccompanied by improvement in the quality of education, is to be avoided.

SCHOOL FINANCE

Financing of Higher Education

Hugh W. Lane

This nation could as public policy decide that the total costs of higher education for all would be paid from public funds. It is not entirely clear that this would require an increase in taxation. Clearly a reordering of priorities within the present level of expenditure of public funds would go a long way toward filling the need. Are we here prepared to take such a position? Simply stated, such a policy would be that the costs of education have the first, the highest, the initial priority in expenditures from the tax dollar or, more broadly, that the needs of health, education, and welfare for all are to be met without regard to cost as a right of citizenship and prior to expenditures for war, for highways, for farm subsidies, etc.

In higher education such a policy could be made manifest in many forms. Let me suggest only one: a universal G.I. Bill type of scholarship fund, open ended, of which every student is assured upon completion of high school.

Consider it and consider it well. Cost it out. The costs may not be prohibitive. The costs of a year in college are after all

less than the costs of a year in jail or of a year in the Job Corps, for that matter. Which is our choice? What policy do we wish?

Consider now the possible costs. Were six million students to attend college at a cost of $5,000 per student per year paid from public funds, the total costs would be 30 billion dollars yearly. Can the nation afford it? How long can the nation afford not to pay it?

Consider some of the implications. If higher education is a right and not a privilege and if the cost of higher education is to be paid to the institutions through the student, then the student is empowered. Those institutions not responsive to the needs of students would change or go out of business. Curricular innovation, relevance, all of today's catchwords would perhaps be tomorrow's reality.

If the costs of higher education are to be borne by the public and not assumed by the individual family, then even the offspring of the affluent will be freed to engage in free and open thinking, unbound to the past by debt and gratitude.

AVENUE TO POWER

There is yet another level at which public policy as it affects Black youth and the Black community is reflected in the shape of legislation concerning student financial aid. This issue is how and whether Blacks shall be educated and trained, and what roles shall they be equipped for in a society where power resides first in the already affluent, and secondarily in the managerial, the scientific, and the technological.

Clearly the four-year college degree is presently the principal avenue to power and participation. It does not hurt, of course, to be born affluent. History suggests, however, that status is hierarchical that is, there is no high status unless there is considerable lower status. This raises the question of the value of the four-year college degree—not if we lower standards—but if we enable everyone to attain it. No less a person than the Vice-President of the United States has argued that college is not for everybody, that multiple other options must be kept available. He quotes Amitai Etzioni to the following extent: "If

we can no longer keep the flood gates closed at the admissions office, it at least seems wise to channel the general flow away from four-year colleges and toward two-year extensions of high school in the junior and community colleges."

Now I am sorely afraid that these extended high school options are designed for our Black children and the children of other minorities and other poor.

Note as evidence the proliferation of junior and community colleges with their present attendant high attrition before the four-year degree.

Note the provocative Newman Report on Higher Education which suggests innovation and cost effectiveness and Mr. Marland's selection of career education as that aspect of it most deserving of his support.

Note the philosophy of the administration which substitutes the term, "post-secondary education," for the term, "access to college."

Note the per-student financial aid package in the House of Representatives of Mrs. Green's bill and its differences from the basic grant proposal in the Senate to Mr. Pell's effort. Listen to the arguments advanced for each as the legislation moves through the House-Senate conference. This level of individual funding in the House Bill seems designed to channel the less affluent toward the less desirable post-secondary options.

It seems to me that the less affluent are once again being channeled toward less desirable jobs, lower social status, fewer technical and scientific skills—generally lower positions in any hierarchy you wish to describe.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The Black community, it seems to me, must assert its claim to every institution and structure participated in by our Black youth. We must insist on full participation in any institution supported in any way by the tax dollar.

I would now urge the funding of all four-year institutions for community involvement. If this is a good idea for the community colleges, it should be just as good an idea for our four-year institutions. The resources of these institutions should

be made more freely available to the general public. Students and faculty should not be the sole beneficiaries of the books, laboratories, lectures, ideas, meeting places, and athletic facilities which comprise these institutions.

The idea of an educational park for primary and secondary education is, after all, adapted from the idea of campus. These—all of these—campuses should be available to the Black community *also*.

It should be commonplace for Black community organizations to assemble and meet in the halls and conference rooms of our colleges and universities. City planners, social scientists, and other scholars should be encouraged to use their disciplines, interacting with the community in the design and delivery of needed knowledge and service.

The crucial point is that legislative authority for this *opera via* now must be used in such a way as to provide leverage for change. I do not believe we should favor general and institutional support for higher education because and only because it provides no such leverage for change.

Thus: the public support of higher education should be in grants through students to the institution rather than through the institution for the student because it would then provide leverage for change.

The public support of institutions should be through programs designed to produce change rather than to institutions *per se*.

Those institutions most directly involved in tackling problems related to our public policy directives should be rewarded, and those merely serving present affluence and power should not be beneficiary to the tax dollar.

Workshops on School Finance

Chairmen

Donald Harris
Aubrey McCutcheon
Nebraska Mays

Recorders

William Cofield
Lois Johnson
Clifford Coles
Berlin Kelly
Wayne Morris

Public School Finance

MAJOR ISSUES

1. Revenue sharing
   a. For education
   b. General
2. Efficacy of full state funding

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Congressional Black Caucus should establish a mechanism to disseminate information on school finance to local officials.

Higher Education Finance

MAJOR ISSUES

1. Financial aid in higher education—student vs. institutional aid.

2. The problems of the stigma attached to "special aid" programs.

3. Evaluation of current financial aid programs.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Require a) that the federal government make more money available for longer term financing and b) that earlier appropriations be made.

2. Require more minority representation on boards, advisory committees, implementation groups, etc.

3. Require that federal guidelines be issued to colleges early enough for them to make intelligent proposals.

4. Establish a task force or study team to do a more thorough analysis of financial problems and make action proposals.

STUDENTS' RIGHTS

The Right to be Somebody

Arthur E. Thomas

Most of the issues ordinarily grouped under the title "students' rights" can be summarized into one sentence: Students' rights is a process by which education, court action, and a variety of other activities protect a student's right to a positive self-image. All other sub-issues, be they due process, corporal punishment, verbal abuse, or irrelevant curriculum, are part of that basic need of students.

There are two major reasons for the lack of self-image and self-love among Black children. One is old-fashioned white racism, which has permeated every institution of American life, most especially the schools. The other is a more sophisticated prejudice directed against children regardless of status, color or intellectual ability.

A racist society is reflected in its language, with the word "Black" having basically negative connotations. It is reflected in the denial of an entire race's contributions to history, and a glossing over of the wrongs done to that race. In addition, Black

children see the things that are not given to them. They draw conclusions about themselves when teachers don't care enough to administer a just and humane discipline.

Along with neglect, Black students must contend with overt teacher racism, which is helped along by so-called intelligence tests. Teachers see the results of these culturally biased tests, and consider Black children inferior. This teacher prejudice is transmitted to the children and they accept it. Some white teachers may not be overt racists, but they have accepted the stereotypes of Black and poor children. They see the poor personal appearance of these children, or come up against cultural differences, and deal with these children differently. The self-fulfilling prophecy is a rule of thumb in the public schools.

The second cause of the destruction of self-image is a prejudice not related to any race or social caste; it is a pervasive and continuing distrust of all children.

We have made our children less than human because we have denied them a sense of control over their environment, and then expected them to be motivated to improve. The constitution doesn't seem to apply to children under 18 or those enrolled in an educational institution. Children are exhorted to become involved in the political proces, but suspended when they demand decision-making power in school.

THE LAW AND EDUCATION

One of the basic problems in protecting students' rights by law is that school administrators do not obey laws already on the books.

The law has defined the right of all children to an education, yet schools continue to abridge that right by suspending children without serious cause, and by denying the right of due process of law to those students.

Laws in seven states make it perfectly legal for a teacher to assault a child. The common law of 41 states allows teachers to hit pupils by means of the concept of *in loco parentis*, meaning the teacher takes the place of the parent. It matters little to the law that the child is Black and the teacher is a white racist.

The case of *Tinker v. Des Moines*, decided by the Supreme

Court in 1969, established the principal that students do possess constitutional rights, and may freely exercise them unless it can be shown that their conduct would interfere with the learning process. But this principle of the law is violated in practically every school in the nation.

Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, a law passed to provide compensatory education, has failed because money was given to the same racist, white-controlled educational systems to educate the Black children they had failed to educate in the first place. Title I, because of its failures, is now being cited as proof that Black children are "dumb" and cannot learn.

The 50 states and the federal government have a stranglehold on education. This is more evident in the areas of compulsory attendance, regulations governing who may teach, and the power to set standards for and accredit schools. It would, therefore, be impossible for a group of poor private individuals to set up their own school to meet the state's standards and be accredited.

STRATEGIES FOR PROTECTING THE INMATES

1. A sense of self-worth is the most pressing need of Black children. Programs must be developed to generate a positive self-image for children of oppressed people.

2. Methods of allowing students to ask questions and find answers for them should be established. The Student Rights Center has had some success with student fact-finding commissions—they should be instituted at the national level.

3. Students must be part of the decision-making process relative to any school-community matters. Inside the schools, student courts should be instituted, allowing students to judge their peers and take responsibility for the discipline in their schools.

4. Local school boards should be expanded to include students from the ages of seven to seventeen.

5. Federal grants made directly to students could allow them to teach the old and the young. Schools, welfare rights, housing, the problems of the old—all these present situations in which students can do a better job of educating than adults.

6. Black people must break the monopoly of information

that school and governments hold over their children. Comic books, LP and 45 rpm records, cable television programs, films and other media must be utilized to spread the message that students do have rights and present strategies for protecting those rights.

7. Education for democracy must be demanded. Schools must see that the world is changing so rapidly that any type of factual information they can give a child will be obsolete in a few years. An oppressed people must educate its children to find ways to combat oppression. Black people need artists and technicians who can deal with problems facing their people.

8. The new sovereign immunity, the immunity of officials who administer major government grant programs, must be dealt with by the addition of a third dimension to the rule of law. The legal system will have to be expanded and restructured. The traditional attitude holds the child accountable for his progress or failure. The school's contribution to that success or failure should be measured, and the administrators responsible for failure held accountable.

9. One way to achieve accountability would be to apply criminal statutes to educators. The laws against hazing, torturing or neglecting children, false advertising (each school levy which advertises quality education and then fails to provide it is guilty) should be applied to school boards. This will at least point out to the public that the psychological destruction of children is a criminal act.

10. White-dominated education is not going to automatically let Black people control their own schools in the areas that desperately need community control: curriculum, staffing, finance. A kind of voucher system for education could go a long way toward pushing the balance of power back into the communities where it belongs. If the government were to make per pupil grants directly to the parents in the form of vouchers that could be converted into payments to schools of the parent's choice, community control would be assured.

11. The monopoly of setting minimum standards will have to be lessened. There must be a shift from minimum standards which measure input to minimum standards which measure output. Schools, to be accredited, must be studied on the basis

90

of their results, not their attempts. The law should state that all children must learn to read before the schools can be accredited.

But no program for change can be successful, truly successful, in making equality and democracy a reality unless the people are involved from the beginning. As Paulo Freire puts it, a revolutionary movement cannot be started from the top by those in power and then presented to the people for their approval. It must come from them and they must be a part of it all the way.

As Freire goes on to say, "A real humanist can be identified more by his trust of the people, which engages him in their struggle, than by a thousand actions in their favor without that trust."

We must trust each other. In the end, the oppressed will save themselves and their oppressors. The children will lead the way.

91

Workshops on Students' Rights

Chairmen	*Recorders*
John Smith	John Browne
George E. Harris	Vivian Clark
Robert R. Jennings	Anthony Fitchue
Tim Thomas	

MAJOR ISSUES

1. The issue of students' rights and its relationship to the total Black experience.

2. Education and capitalism.

3. Legal strategies for the protection of the rights of Black students.

4. The role and utility of free schools.

5. The development of a Student Bill of Rights.

92

6. The youth/adult split among Black students, teachers, administrators, and parents.

7. Student displacement and illegal suspensions and expulsions in integrated settings.

8. Students' rights vs. student privileges.

9. Violence against students.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Establish a nationwide clearinghouse for information on students' rights.

2. Develop and support alternatives to the public schools.

3. Encourage and support participation by Black students at all levels of decision-making including conferences like this.

4. Develop more communication with young Black people. The Congressional Black Caucus should encourage them to meet on the local level, discuss the issues, select delegates for a national meeting, and meet nationally, with one of the agenda items being the establishment of a Bill of Rights.

5. Student displacement should be combated by efforts to secure a federal guarantee of legal representation for those displaced

6. The Congressional Black Caucus should establish a Board or Conference on Secondary Education and on Higher Education, with Regional Councils in each, to serve as "watchdogs," to have an investigative function, and to make the appropriate recommendations or demands as needed to secure and protect students' rights.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

The Policy Implications of Community Control of Black American Schools

Preston Wilcox

My paper sought to examine the tendency of white-controlled educational experiences to "divide and conquer" the Black community by nurturing and perpetuating the house nigger/field nigger syndrome initiated by the slave system. School integration programs were described as efforts to:

1. Destroy the concept of psychological and physical nationhood within the minds of Blacks.
2. Ensure that quality education for Blacks *never* took place within the Black community under Black control.
3. Educate Blacks to advocate on behalf of whites within the Black community.

Efforts by Blacks to control their own schools were held to be a bane to the efforts of both white liberals and white racists. Both groups would tend to support the continued miseducation of Blacks, wherever it takes place. Such efforts by Blacks would:

1. Remove whites from control over the education of Blacks
2. Establish sovereignty by Blacks over the education of their own children.

94

The concept of "community involvement" as currently defined and practiced tends to engage Blacks in striving to hold whites accountable for the education of Blacks rather than the development within Blacks of a sense of self-accountability in the control of their own educational programs. Of particular importance was the pattern of white-controlled education that perceives Black students as being off-white, uneducable and as individuals devoid of worthy familial, community or cultural ties. Black students are taught counter-insurgency, to become anti-self and anti-Black and to legitimize white control of the Black agenda in such settings. Rather than being taught to participate as "outsiders" in a white-controlled school, the reader is urged to develop systems of control and mutual accountability over such schools.

The implications for Black community control over the education of Black children are as follows:

1. Local communities would begin to perceive themselves as being integral parts of Black America rather than solely as sub-communities within white America.
2. Local leadership would gain increased opportunities to exercise and develop their own institution-building capabilities.
3. Control over internal group relationships would be returned to such communities.
4. Education begins to be defined as a political and economic problem—and not just one which is related to scholarship and academic achievement.
5. Values of cooperativeness begin to replace those of individualism; parents begin to feel a sense of collective ownership of their own schools.
6. Black elected officials will become accountable to the Black community and not to the white community or to themselves alone.
7. Importantly, and not lastly, Black students begin to be perceived as being *human and educable*, as members of a family and as members of the Black community. The resultant educational process enhances their potential to be of service to their own people.

Never lose touch with your own soul.

Workshops on Community Involvement

Chairmen

Rep. William L. Clay
Kenneth W. Haskins
Olivia Taylor
Paul Vance

Recorders

Berlin Kelly
Redelle Moore
Eugene Speller
Vivian Clark
Lenton Aikins

MAJOR ISSUES

1. Psychological control (positive self-identity and sense of control of one's destiny) as an antecedent to political and economic control.

2. Models for community control
   a. Participation on school boards and other existing governing bodies.
   b. Community control of schools as a part of a larger struggle for political power.
   c. The CORE Unitary School Plan.
   d. The implications of regional differences for control strategies.

96

3. The power of parents.

4. The obligations of the professionals to the communities they serve.

5. Community control of schools as its relates to other vital issues such as unemployment, health care, etc.

6. Community control as a reaction to the failures of integration.

7. Students as active participants in the concept of community control.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Conference should endorse the CORE Urban School Plan.

2. There should be additional new money appropriated and attached to all federal grants to stimulate parent involvement on all levels. Additional money should be available as the degree and quality of parent involvement increases.

3. Review and publicize the progress of outstanding community involvement efforts such as those in the Nairobi and Ravenswood school districts.

4. The Congressional Black Caucus should extend political know-how to Black communities and local Black officials.

5. The Congressional Black Caucus should disseminate new or pending legislation concerning education to community groups.

6. Local educational policies should be analyzed for their applicability to other localities.

7. The Congressional Black Caucus should develop a mechanism to serve the ombudsman function—to investigate agencies to determine if money is going to Black communities and to monitor programs once they are funded.

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Federal Pre-School and Early Childhood Programs from a Black Perspective

Evelyn K. Moore

A part of the new Black awareness that has grown so quickly in the past ten years is our understanding of how important it is that we raise and educate our children. We have discovered that it is a task far too important to leave to others, because it is through education that we really maintain who we are as a people. Moreover, we have become more aware that the present configuration of the American system of education in Black communities across the country has little to do with enabling our Black children to survive in 20th century America.

If by the time our children reach the age of five they have not learned to survive with honor, dignity and ability, then they have already been shoved to the back of the starting line. They are beginning the long distance race with no shoes—no map of the course.

We must now move onward and enhance our children's growth—intellectually and physically—within the Black family structure. One way we can do this is through early childhood programs. Child development programs and institutions meet the

98

comprehensive needs of Black children, their families and communities.

Child development must encompass not only the Black child's cognitive, physical and social needs, but his psychological requirements as well. We must have programs that give self-knowledge and self-respect. And beyond his strengthened belief in self, we must have programs that give the child a greater sense of racial awareness and pride.

The only way that this can be reasonably achieved is for the community to have the decision-making authority. The community can then develop educational policy which is tailored to their chilren's distinctive needs. As we have shown, the first five years of life are too critical to be entrusted to those for whom the Black child's interest may not be predominant. It must be entrusted to the Black community. In turn, as the community nurtures and forms child development centers, the centers, themselves, become catalysts for total community development. At the present time, it is estimated that there are over six million pre-school children with working mothers. This represents a 50 percent increase since 1960, and, more than 8 times as many mothers are working today than were in 1940. This includes both white and Black. Of the 6 million children under 6, about 1.2 million were Black children whose mothers were in the labor force as of March 1970. One-half of all Black mothers are in the labor force at any given time as compared to less than one-third of white mothers.

The current level of federal spending in child care and development is pitifully low, only about $750 million. This amount of money is not adequate when we consider that at least 8 million children are urgently in need of day care. It indicates that the federal commitment is a commitment in name only.

Dr. Edward Zigler of the Office of Child Development has estimated that it would cost an additional $1.126 billion, just to reach the Head Start target population. The target population is defined by the government as pre-school children whose families' income is below poverty level as established by OEO. Thus, nearly 1.6 million poor children in the Head Start age group would be eligible for the program if there were enough funds

99

available. At the current level, only 240,000 children are served by Head Start. Of the 240,000 children, 80,000 children are in full-day year-round programs. Only about half of these children are Black.

Let us turn for a moment and examine child care programs under the Social Security Act. This is Title IV-A which provides money and services for child welfare. To be eligible for these programs, children must come from families under the Assistance to Families with Dependent Children, or in the Work Incentive Program (WIN). These are administered through the states, which pay 25 percent of the total costs. In fiscal 1971, the combined federal and state expenditures for the WIN programs were about 54 million dollars. For the non-WIN programs, about 205 million dollars were spent. When one considers the awesome expense of providing comprehensive child development, it is clear that the cost per child in these programs is not adequate. The Social Rehabilitation Service, the federal agency that administers this program, has estimated the cost per child under Title IV-A in FY 71 to be $833.00. This they estimate to be "lower than would be required to provide adequate care."

Last year a bipartisan majority of both the House and the Senate passed a comprehensive child development bill as part of the OEO extension. The bill would have authorized a $2 billion appropriation for new child development programs. This program would be preceded by an initial planning and "gearing up" year supported by a $100 million authorization. Both Houses of Congress approved of the measure. President Nixon vetoed the bill. His veto demonstrates that he has established and perpetuates a vicious double standard.

Most basic to any program is its planning and its funding mechanism. The essential decision-making authority in the planning, development, and operation of child development programs must be the parents. They know the needs of their children. This requires power to act and follow through.

We must develop child care programs that are in no way separate nor detached from the community which they serve. The community must guide and support the child care centers, and the centers, in turn, will do their share to give sustenance to their own Black communities.

Workshops on Early Childhood Education

Chairmen	*Recorders*
Jessica H. Daniel	Tobias Washington
Georgia L. McMurray	Muriel Hamilton
Gloria Scott	Robert Beasley
Theodore Taylor	Dorothy Bryant

MAJOR ISSUES

1. Inadequacy of funds for federal child care programs.

2. Inadequacy of conceptualization of federal child care programs.

3. Elements of a good child development program, i.e., consumer involvement, direct funding, educational component, high quality staff, etc.

4. Involvement of parents in decision-making roles in the development of child care policies and programs.

5. Integration of child care services with other human services such as health, nutrition, education, and welfare.

6. The relative merits of the Administration's welfare proposal, H.R. 1, and the Child Development Act, passed by Congress and vetoed by the President.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Black people should be involved at the highest levels in setting standards for day care and child development programs so that they reflect the needs of Black children and communities.

2. Include more parental participation and control in legislation and guidelines for all child care and child development programs and provide supplemental federal grants to Black groups in order to facilitate this participation.

3. The Congressional Black Caucus should spearhead a national drive to defeat H.R. 1.

4. Black groups should begin to look to sources other than the federal government for funding early childhood education programs.

5. Black organizations should develop effective models of early childhood education programs and federal funds should be made available for their implementation.

6. Establish a national clearinghouse on Black education to disseminate information on available funding, effective program designs, and new governmental policies and practices.

102

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Public Schools, Public Policy, Public Problems: Some Observations and Suggestions

Robert R. Wheeler

Problems and issues in American elementary and secondary education as they affect Black children is the subject with which I have been asked to concern myself today.

It is a complex and challenging subject. During the past decade, many pages have been written on the problems of American education, many thousands of them concerned specifically with the education of Black children. The very *volume* of the words on educational problems is in itself a problem—at least to librarians and to those who attempt to be experts on education. My hope today is to relate some basic facts to the situation of the Black pupil in American education, thereby helping this Conference develop a useful viewpoint as it considers these problems.

Those of us invited to make presentations have been asked to do so in the form of facts, knowledge, perceptions, and interpretations, but without advocacy. In my view, the constraints imposed upon advocacy are advisable, acceptable,

and beneficial to the purposes of this Conference. While it is the appropriate responsibility of the professionals to organize, present, and interpret the facts, they should be joined in the choice of a variety of alternatives by those who have a stake in the educational enterprise as clients and consumers.

Insofar as possible, I will avoid urging one course of action in preference to another, as I believe participants in this Conference are fully capable of making such choices for themselves.

Obviously, it is not possible for me to present or discuss all or even a major portion of the information available about Black education. Therefore, I plan to limit myself to some basic bits of information which will elucidate the most relevant of the facts, issues and possible courses of future action in seeking full educational opportunity for Black children.

It is my judgment that the educational problems and issues relating to Black children have their origins in prejudice, ostracism, and discrimination woven into our societal fabric. In education these negative forces were expressed through deliberately, systematically, and relentlessly applied denial of equal educational opportunity. The clear direction toward the redress of these monumental wrongs then must first deal effectively with the establishment of equal opportunity to learn.

The authority for providing public education in the United States is "reserved to the States and to the people" under the general U.S. Constitutional provision which limits Federal authority to that specifically granted by the Constitution. States generally have delegated much of this authority to local governmental units created and established at the discretion of each of the several States.

These localities are the setting inside which the educational effort takes place and the features of the local societal patterns are strongly reflected in the education program.

A major consequence of this decentralized authority is a great diversity in educational standards, levels of tax support, and other factors associated with inequalities in American education. Efforts to overcome the inequalities within individual States have been only indifferently successful, at least partly because States generally have decentralized important decisions to local

school districts. Recent court decisions on local taxation for education appear to promise some corrective actions, but how effective such actions will be remains to be seen.

American education is "big business." In the fall of 1970, nearly 60 million Americans were enrolled in some type of formal education program from kindergarten through post-doctoral study, with 51,600,000 of them in elementary and secondary schools and the remainder in colleges and universities.

Black children constitute 14.9 percent of all public school pupils, but are the recipients of only 14.2 percent of all State and local expenditures for current school operating expenses. This deficit in operating expenditures for educational facilities serving Black pupils has always been substantially significantly below par. There also is a higher dropout rate among Black pupils—estimated to be 2.5 times as high as would be expected on the basis of the proportion of Black children among all public school pupils.

It is estimated that the average annual State and local expenditure for each Black pupil is $697, while it is $751 for each non-Black pupil.

This indicates that the average Black pupil in the Nation is the recipient of $54 less in educational services each year than the average non-Black pupil.

During the 1969-70 school year, 31 states spent less than the national average expenditure per pupil. These 31 states contained 60 percent of the nation's Black public school students and about 51 percent of the non-Black children.

These facts make it readily apparent that educational inequalities exist between Black and non-Black pupils in terms of:

1. unequal access to financial resources for educational programs and services, and
2. unequal academic attainment of pupils and students even though there is every reason to believe they should be equally able.

The Presidential Commission on School Finance reported to the President in March that "the financial problems of education derive largely from the evolving inabilities of the States to create and maintain systems that provide equal educational opportunities and quality education to all their children."

The Commission recommended that "each State assume responsibility" for raising and allocating educational resources rather than leaving much of this authority to the local districts. The Commission also recommended that the Federal role in elementary and secondary education include providing funds in a way "designed to more nearly equalize resources among the States."

Changing societal conditions are creating new issues and problems which affect education and educational decisions, with the result that at the adult or near-adult end of the educational stream there is less and less opportunity for employment of the uneducated, untrained, unskilled individual—and less and less opportunity for such individuals to gain on-the-job access to the necessary training or skills development. At the same time more and more educated and skilled women are entering and remaining in the labor force both before and after becoming mothers. The care of preschool-age children is thus becoming more of an issue than ever before in our history. Day care services and early childhood education programs, therefore, are among the issues now being discussed, along with the need for career education programs designed to ensure that every youngster can and does develop a marketable skill, whether through appropriate vocational training or college education.

The Commission on School Finance said that quality and equality in American education are "twin aspects of a single problem" and concluded: "If the education offered is inadequate, equal opportunity to obtain it is meaningless; to offer effective education to only some of our own children is manifestly unjust."

"The only reasonable and defensible public policy for communities, States, and the Nation," the Commission said, "is to ensure to all children equal access to education that is good enough to meet their individual needs and the collective demands of a growing economy in a democratic society."

One of the problems emerging from attempts to correct educational inequalities has been related to means vs. ends. This is expressed by a schizophrenic citizenry which embraces the end objective of equal education opportunity, but opposes some of the ways by which it might be achieved. The recent outcome

of the referendum vote included in the Florida primary demonstrates the point. The goal of equality of educational opportunity was overwhelmingly endorsed, but the use of busing as a means for achieving it was rejected.

A realistic appraisal of the struggle to desegregate and ultimately integrate the schools will conclude that it will take more than an insignificant amount of time. Meanwhile, the educational careers of Black children will not hold still until this correction is made.

If the hypothesis that complete desegregation cannot be achieved instantaneously is accepted, then we must be prepared to identify, describe, design and obtain educational programs and services which will overcome the educational inequalities which continue to afflict those Black children who remain physically and socially isolated.

In other words, we must seek special educational programs and services which will provide full opportunity for Black children to become intellectually equipped to compete in this society to the fullest extent of their abilities, without reducing the struggle for the desegregation, and ultimately the meaningful and profitable integration of the educational system. It is altogether possible to accomplish this secondary goal, even within the circumstances of less than full integration, given adequate resources and sensitive design and delivery of educational programs for the disequalized segment of the school population.

Some educational theorists continue the attempt to establish their idea that the Black segment of the school population suffers from inferior learning ability, traceable to genetic inferiority.[1] Others have turned to "environmental conditions" surrounding the Black school as the major contribution to the typical disparity in educational achievement. The educational establishment, lamentably, has accepted both of these theories and incorporated them into programs designed to correct the inequality of educational opportunity as manifested by unequal educational achievements.

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[1] "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 39, No. 1, Winter, 1969, Arthur R. Jensen.

This course of action was doomed from the beginning.

Implicit in both ideas is a common and erroneous assumption that the debilitations which Black children bring to school define permanent impairment. This line of reasoning ignores the very large mass of evidence which shows that the *real ability* to learn is distributed among Black children, even poor Black children, in the same way it is distributed among the general school population, test scores and achievement patterns notwithstanding. It must be remembered that the attempt to explain the under-achievement of Black children in terms of either intellectual pathology, or unalterable environmental effects incorrectly assumes that education now employs the best of all possible instructional methodology perfectly suited to all children, no matter what their backgrounds and life circumstances are.

There is no question but what the environments surrounding Black children constitute a factor negative to the learning process. It cannot be denied that the features of prejudice and discrimination woven into the societal fabric are both the source and the perpetuating force which solidify the cycle of poverty and unequal educational attainment. It does not follow, however, as strong as these forces are, that the learning of Black children cannot be substantially improved, given the resources to design an effective program of education.

The historical failure of Black children to learn at a pace and to a level commensurate with their abilities is an indictment of the educational program as it is organized and delivered to them. In the main, it is a function of unproductive teaching.

In considering ways to correct these inadequate educational outcomes for Black children, two major and simultaneous initiatives are required:

1. Correction of inequities in the distribution of financial resources, to provide resources in accordance with educational need, an action which will require additional expenditures for Black children.
2. Changes in school programs and services which will make them appropriate and effective for their specialized needs. School systems must be flexible enough and fair enough to allow the design and implementation of these programs. This is absolutely essential.

Simple equalization of educational spending is not the sole objective. We must make every effort to insure that *equality* and *equity* both are considered in the solutions. Equality implies a mathematical formulation based on one-to-one relationships; equity, on the other hand, implies that the distribution of resources should consider differing needs for those resources as well as mere numbers of resident children and mere numbers of dollars.

The reason equity is essential in the allocation of educational resources becomes immediately evident when the differential cost of educating a deaf child is compared to the cost of educating a child having normal hearing. It is not so evident, however, when the differences are a function of inequities built into the educational system and the distinguishing labels become "disadvantaged" and "non-disadvantaged." But to ignore the different needs of these differing students would be not only disastrous to their educational careers but unjust as well to them as Americans. Title I of ESEA now requires "comparability" of services between schools, but the best assurance that districts are spending their money fairly on behalf of all students will come from the insistence of local citizens. If the citizens do not demand equitable spending on behalf of all children, it is almost a certainty that *inequitable* spending will occur. If local citizens do not insist on appropriate programs for Black children, Black children will receive inappropriate educational programs.

Any new financing plan should attempt to insure that school revenues routinely increase as costs increase and that there are features of the new system of financing which require expenditures intended to close the gap of inequity.

From our point of view, this may mean spending more on Black children.

But even with appropriate financing, better programs are needed. Although many of the effects and consequences of specific educational programs are more conjectural than specific due to the shortcomings of our measurement instruments, it is possible to describe some of the components which have been and are being used with at least partial success to improve the quality of educational programs available to Black children.

Curriculum revision efforts must be made to more fully individualize instructional programs and to make the materials

more completely reflect historical facts and developments and simultaneously present impressions and experiences which better reflect today's society and the student's own observations and knowledge.

Particular attention should be paid to items such as the heritage of Black children as part of American history; matters which relate to the social forces in American history which have influenced the destiny of the Black segment of the American population. Steps such as these need to be taken to reinforce the development of a desired self-image, which will be generated in the main from a program that is successful in terms of positive learning outcomes.

Greater community and/or parent involvement in matters of educational concern is more than simply an extension of the democratic ideal of citizen participation. Properly developed, community involvement programs can and do provide direct out-of-school support for child learning.

The professional educator must recognize that many aspects of an educational program are little more than institutionalized mirror images of a theoretical value system which will not stand up to an empirical test of worthiness. This is a cumbersome sentence. What I mean is that educators must not continue to do what they are doing because they have always done it. Obviously a lot of it has been bad. They should listen to parents, particularly, and to students as they formulate judgments about program design. The relationship of the school to the community should support the design and effective implementation of a productive educational program. If the community leaders fail to allow professional judgment to be included in decisions which must be made, a gate will be opened through which the educators will walk as they abdicate their responsibility for accountability.

For a community involvement program to work, the administrator must be able to profitably exploit the views of community constituents, and incorporate them into a sound policy contributing positively to the design of an educational program with a potential for producing positive learning outcomes.

Teacher retraining is crucial to educational improvement.

Approximately $60 million in Federal funds for elementary and secondary education was spent in the training of school personnel during the 1969-70 school year. More than $40 million of this money was used to train teachers and more than $9 million for training teacher aides.

Without moving into a discussion of the relevance and success of teacher training by the colleges and universities, suffice it to say emphatically that the institutions of higher education are not where the fundamental responsibility for the direction of teacher retraining programs should lie. These institutions are at least one step removed from the location where the needs of Black children can be translated into productive pedagogy. Besides being unstrategically placed, they will also find it more difficult to synchronize and integrate training activities with the ongoing program.

The school district should be held accountable for the learning outcomes of the children and, therefore, should have full freedom to design a program of teacher retraining which can contribute to meeting the requirements of the accountability obligation. The district should take the leadership and the responsibility.

A highly necessary element in any educational improvement program should be that of prevention. Counseling activities are intended to have a strong impact on prevention as well as accomplishment. But counselors are still too much prisoners of the traditional idiom. They work mainly with students whom they believe have high potential for college study.

In the light of the current initiative of Career Education which is proceeding in the Office of Education, the need for extensive revision of the counseling effort seems to be clear. If Career Education objectives are to be rationally included in the educational program, it will require not only far reaching modification of present curricular structures, but it will also require the definition of substantially different counseling objectives.

The new approach will, among other things, need to concentrate on achievement of the student's understanding of himself; his likes and dislikes; his strengths and weaknesses. The student will need to acquire knowledge related to the world of

work, an understanding of the hierarchy of occupations, job families, qualifications for entry jobs, expected standards of performance, etc. The counselors now working in the schools have not had these considerations emphasized in their training backgrounds.

If Career Education is to succeed by reaching its major objective, which is the opening of additional options to the student by the time of high school graduation, an active scrutiny must be maintained to insure that the old traditional ideas about work and Black people do not creep into the design of the program or its organization and operation.

The strongest implication raised by the points above is that extensive retraining of counselors is central to the success of the Career Education effort, and crucial to the derivation of maximum benefits to Black students.

One of the most effective ways to alleviate the learning problems associated with severe economic deprivation and the educational disadvantage commonly associated with it is through early childhood education programs.

The successes of Head Start in improving the academic performance of poor children have been widely reported. Somewhat less well known is the equally well established fact that many of these youngsters lost learning momentum when they entered regular school programs.

The Follow Through Program was initiated to provide continuing extra support and to reinforce the gains made in Head Start. Evaluation of both programs is continuing but preliminary and tentative conclusions indicate that the educational deprivations associated with a childhood of poverty are correctable through appropriate early childhood education programs.

The support of classic remedial programs in our schools should not be necessary. School programs should be organized and conducted in ways which make it possible to correct student learning problems as they arise and not to permit them to reach the point where the traditional remedial program is the only practical solution. The main reason we should not have remediation, however, is that it has never produced significant results.

112

In one well known major school district, test scores revealed that eighty percent of the second graders in the inner-city schools did not score at the average level on a reading readiness test! The strong implication here is that we begin early, and administer a program which is reflective of the specialized needs of the children. Where the choice forces remedial measures, there are *some* examples from which we can learn. In those remedial programs which seem to be successful, they have been designed around well defined, succinctly stated objectives, and they have included very intensive effort. But the best strategy, in the long run, is to correct basic flaws in regular programs and eliminate the need for remediation.

There are other specific educational activities referred to in Part III of my paper, and some viewpoints taken which point to suggestions which could result in substantial educational improvement. It should be realized, however, that the educational problems which beset Black children are deep-seated and that they are ramified throughout the educational system and that their origins are traced to discrimination within our society.

This tragedy, which denies Black children their fullest intellectual development to a level, and at a pace commensurate with their ability to learn, can be corrected. It will require vigilance, it will require sensitivity, dedication, and it will require unity of both purpose and effort in the Black community.

Workshops on Elementary and Secondary Education

Chairmen	*Recorders*
Charles H. Smith	Wayne Morris
James Banks	John Browne
Warren Hayman	Eugene Speller
George Hutt	Michael Ouckama
	Naomi Rose

MAJOR ISSUES

1. Goals of elementary and secondary education for Black children.

2. Professional development of Black teachers and administrators.

3. Essentials of curriculum and materials for Black children.

4. Use of technology in education.

5. Effective strategies for community involvement.

6. Career education.

7. Alternatives to the public schools and their importance for Black children.

8. Selection and training of paraprofessionals.

9. Effectiveness of Title I and other compensatory education programs.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Congressional Black Caucus should design and develop a communication system for dissemination of educational information and materials.

2. The Congressional Black Caucus should arrange for an open ended discussion between Commissioner of Education Sidney Marland and a group of Black educators.

3. The Congressional Black Caucus should establish a National Committee on Black Education to address national educational issues of concern to Black people, i.e., finance, quality education, and others discussed at the Conference.

115

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

Higher Education for Black Americans: Issues in Achieving More Than Just Equal Opportunity

Elias Blake, Jr.

I. PROFILE OF BLACK AMERICANS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

In the fall of 1970, various estimates projected that from 400- to 500,000 Blacks were enrolled in institutions of higher education. At that point, 970,000 should have been enrolled and 1,070,000 should be enrolled by 1972. Without the most drastic attacks on current methods of college recruiting, admission, and available financial support, the 600- to 700,000 deficit will occur. By 1982, 1.8 million should be enrolled in college.

There are no reliable estimates of how many Black youth are graduating from any level of higher education, whether two-year colleges, four-year colleges and universities, or graduate and professional schools. The only hard data are from the 100 Black colleges in the South. Using the fact that the Black colleges will

116

produce about 25,000 graduates in June, 1972, and this probably represents *at least* 60 percent of the national total, that would mean about 41,700 graduates of all kinds; baccalaureate, graduate, and professional.

From 1960 to 1968, the gap increased between the percentage of Blacks and the percentage of whites who have finished four years of college in the 25- to 34-year old age group.

	1960	1968
White	11.7%	15.7%
Black	4.3%	6.3%
Difference	7.4%	9.4%

According to estimates by Michael Flax,[1] the gap will be no smaller in 1976 than in 1968, and by 1987, Blacks would just reach the 1968 level of college educated white people in the 25- to 34-year age group! The serious problem this presents for equity in income levels and participation in the professional, technical, and managerial segments of the society can not be overestimated.

About three percent of the enrollment in graduate and professional schools is Black, though some higher percentages have been reported for the 1971 entering classes in law and medicine. (These are as high as eight to nine percent of the most recent entering classes.)

For the first time in a hundred years, a majority of Blacks in college may be enrolled outside of the predominantly Black colleges in the South. If this is in effect true, it occurred in the last four to five years, indicating how recent is the involvement of Blacks in any numbers in predominantly white institutions of higher education. (The "quality" of the non-Black college enrollment will be discussed shortly.)

How is Black enrollment distributed? The following data are for fall 1970.

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[1]Michael Flax, "Blacks and Whites: An Experiment in Racial Indicators," *Urban Institute*, 1971.

379,138[2]		Total Enrollment
170,000	44%	Predominantly Black Colleges (South)
204,138	56%	Predominantly White Colleges
264,000	74%	First Two Years of College
93,000	26%	Last Two Years of College
22,000		Graduate and Professional Schools

Conflicts in Estimates of College Enrollment: Is "Progress" Really Progress?

In 1968, the Census Bureau reported 434,000 Blacks, ages 16 to 34, in college; this represented an 80 percent increase over 234,000 reported in 1964. The previous highest estimate was about 300,000. Since that time, the three main sources of racial data have remained in substantial conflict. They are: (1) The Census Bureau; (2) the Office of Civil Rights (OCR), HEW; and (3) the American Council on Education (ACE). For example, in fall 1970, OCR reported 356,836 Black undergraduates, while the Census Bureau reported 484,000, while ACE estimates were somewhere in between. This 125,000 gap has remained consistent for three years now.

Another highly related issue is what proportion is in Southern, predominantly Black colleges. It is widely quoted that now only 34 percent of the Blacks in higher education are enrolled there.

The drift of all of this would be to kill off the historic Black colleges, thereby making *all* higher education of Black youth dependent on predominantly white institutions in which the problems of control and influence are enormous.

Enrollment, after all, is only a sign of what may be possible, not what is happening to Black Americans in higher education. The quality is important. We must be alert to some seriously deceptive factors in the enrollment data. Quality factors are the following:

1. How many are enrolled full-time?

[2]Office of Civil Rights Ethnic Survey of Higher Education Institutions. I prefer to use the more conservative data from OCR rather than the 482,000 figure of the Census Bureau, since no knowledgeable observers can find the rapid expansion of enrollment in the last seven years–234,000 in 1964 to 482,000 in 1970–physically present across the country.

2. How many are in degree-credit programs?
3. How many are in two-year versus four-year colleges?

Productivity factors are the following:

1. How many are graduating, in what fields, and are those the needed areas?
2. How many students in the two-year colleges are in baccalaureate transfer programs versus terminal programs out of which few college credits can be carried towards a B.A. degree?
3. How many are going into graduate and professional areas such as law, medicine, engineering, advanced science research, and technology?

Despite all the publicity on increases, no studies of any comprehensive nature exist with solid answers to these questions. All kinds of head counts are taken but almost as in a conspiracy, nothing else is known (except for some studies in individual colleges and some estimates).

What Kind of First Two Years: Dead End or a Chance to Make It?

Most community colleges enroll degree-credit and non-degree-credit students. A major question is whether too many Black youth are being directed into terminal programs when the need is for programs giving the option for transfer to a four-year college. A look at some data from the Los Angeles Community College district shows that the more Blacks and Chicanos are in a college, the more the enrollment is in non-degree-credit work.

It could well be that a substantial portion of the so-called increased enrollment could be composed of part-time students in non-degree-credit courses with substantial financial problems, and married with families. It is essential that opportunity be available to these Black people, but they need to be almost superhuman to survive all the obstacles and gain either college degrees or their vocational goals.

By comparison, 87 percent of the enrollment in the Black colleges is full-time baccalaureate degree credit enrollment and 95 percent of the enrollment is in four-year degree granting colleges and universities. These facts are never mentioned as arguments ensue about what enrollment is where.

119

II. DIVISIVE GAMES BEING PLAYED IN HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY FORMULATION

The Numbers Game:
Who's Got the Black Students So Who Gets the Money?

Major segments of the Blacks in higher education institutions can easily be put at each others' throats because of the numbers game. It is fairly clear that the Congress can be influenced to put money into programs that help students in financial need.

Black students are clearly the lowest income segment of students in higher education. Thus, if you can prove you have lots of them, lots of money can come in your direction. Not only that, but foundation grants and research grants also can be pursued to do research on the "disadvantaged."

Three major segments all have Black professionals who have been put on the firing line to get money for Black students. These three groups should beware of the use of the numbers game to force one group of Blacks to be influential in killing off the educational efforts of another group.

The three groups are:

1. Black teachers and administrators in community colleges, including Black presidents of predominantly or heavily Black community colleges, mainly in the 20 largest cities.
2. Blacks in predominantly white four-year colleges and universities (deriving mainly from Black student pressures and the rise of Afro-American and Urban Studies programs).
3. Blacks in the historically predominantly Black colleges in the South where 53 percent of the Black population still resides.

Each group has been forced to scramble for scarce resources and has been encouraged to believe, based on the contradictory enrollment data, that each is the dominant force in the field. So far, no unifying force has emerged to put a stop to these developing trends and turn the attention of all three to the fact that all of them should combine their efforts cooperatively.

The Ideology Game:
What Comes First, Ideological Clarity or Technical Skills?

Clearly there are disagreements within the national Black

120

community about education for what. The highest priority must be given to rethinking what our educational efforts are all about. We must prepare Black youth for dealing forcefully with their status in America without confusion and ambivalence. What kind of person we are producing in terms of knowing who he is, is as important as technical know-how.[3]

If another person is not "Black enough" for you, check out his program of education for Black youth. If he is being productive, then do not try to stop him because he "is not together." Stand outside his door and recruit his trained manpower to your cause.

There can be unity in productivity with diversity in paths to productivity. If the pool is large enough, we will get enough trained people to serve the ends of any point on the ideological spectrum. Without writers, engineers, doctors, lawyers, computer experts, city planners increasing five-fold, no manpower will exist to make any of the dreams of the Black community for its own development come true.

The Admissions Crisis Point: Getting Into the Systems

The equity argument moves toward an open enrollment system for public higher education at all levels until equity is functional.

Open enrollment means no traditional added-on criteria such as a specific test score, a specific academic average beyond a passing one, a specific rank in class, e.g., the upper third. If one completes high school with a C average, he is eligible for admission to *any* public college, not just a community college. If a community college is completed, one is eligible for admission to a four-year college. If one graduates from a four-year college with a C+ average, he is eligible for law, medical, dental, or graduate school so long as he has the appropriate undergraduate major.

Functional equity means that a proportional number of Blacks in any state ought to be enrolled and graduating in higher

[3]These issues have been dealt with at more length in another paper. "Future Leadership Roles for Predominantly Black Colleges and Universities in American Higher Education," *Daedalus*, Summer, 1971. My own "ideology" is set forth there.

education. In those metropolitan areas where they are concentrated, they should also be enrolled in higher education in proportion to their number of the population.

	Total Black Population	Black Public School Population
Newark	54.0%	72.2%
New Jersey Statewide	10.7%	15.4%
New York City	21.2%	34.5%
New York Statewide	10.6%	15.5%
Chicago	32.7%	54.8%
Illinois Statewide	12.8%	18.2%
Atlanta	51.3%	68.7%
Georgia Statewide	25.9%	33.2%
New Orleans	45.0%	69.5%
Louisiana Statewide	29.8%	40.4%
Birmingham	42.0%	54.6%
Alabama Statewide	26.2%	34.3%

In Newark, 54 percent of those enrolled and *graduating from* all levels of higher education should be Black including doctors, lawyers, Ph.D.'s, etc. If the percentage is less in Newark than in the state as a whole, 10.7 at all levels should be involved.

Undergraduate Crisis Point:
Revolving Door or Maintenance of Progress?

The first two years of college are critical. Most drop-outs occur in that period. A majority of the students who return for their third year of college, graduate. Two factors are of paramount importance: (1) money for student expenses, and (2) an educational program to hold in rather than push out students.

Financial aid programs should extend into the summer before a student comes to college or his aid package should

allow charges to be made for preparations to come to college, such as clothing, possible travel, and so on. There would be no fees for tests since they would be given only after admission and for diagnosis only.

Educational Programming:
From Institutional Racism to Institutional Support for Equality

Historically, except for the Black colleges, all levels of the higher education structure excluded Black people. The elementary and secondary schools crippled the education of Black youth and then colleges and universities excluded them for being "unprepared."

1. Colleges must redesign their freshmen-year programs for *all* students so that they will be responsive to the needs of Black students in larger numbers. Remedial, non-credit programs must be rejected because they represent the first revolution of the revolving door.
2. Colleges should receive a cost of education allowance for each Black student who would not qualify except via open enrollment. The express purpose of these funds is to support the redesign and retraining of faculty as well as putting in whatever extra counseling services are needed.

Where a large proportion of their Black students are not surviving, a college must show how it intends to remedy the situation as a basis for continued support *or not receive the funds*.

III. GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL LEVEL CRISIS POINT

National post-baccalaureate programs are needed, directed toward recruiting larger numbers of Blacks in graduate and professional training. Too many Black youth of considerable ability do not even consider going beyond the B.A. degree. They feel a sense of obligation to help others in their families as well as to avoid further indebtedness by going forward into law, medicine, or a Ph.D.

The NDEA Fellowship Program is being phased out in the Office of Education. The National Science Foundation gave the

123

last new awards in its graduate traineeship program in 1970. In 1973, the last awards for those already being supported will be made: 1,808 people are in the program; in 1969, 2,842 were in the program.

All institutions of higher education with predominantly Black student populations should be aware that this means that very few Black doctorate level applicants will be available in the next five to ten years.

IV. THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE BLACK PUBLIC COLLEGE IN THE SOUTH

Black public colleges enroll about two-thirds of the 170,000 students enrolled in predominantly Black colleges. Without them, the pattern of building equity for Blacks would be almost impossible. For example, in Tennessee, without the public college, only 5.6 percent of the enrollment would be Black in the state as opposed to 11 percent with the Black public colleges. At least 21 percent of the enrollment in the state should be Black. If there were equity, the University of Tennessee System would have 8,000 Blacks enrolled out of 40,000 students. These would be *in addition* to the Black students enrolled at Tennessee State University.

The problem is that some attention is being turned to the "desegregation" of the predominantly Black campuses.

These campuses cannot legally remain *all* Black or exclude whites. Neither situation is true now. In fact, almost uniformly, the predominantly Black campuses have more white faculty than the predominantly white campuses have Black faculty. Because of strong racial attitudes in the white community, it is more difficult to get white students.

Eventually, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will require a plan for desegregation of the public higher education system in each state. It is imperative that the Black community in each state have an impact on that planning process. Just as the white community protects its interests in public school desegregation, so must the Black community protect its interests with these Black colleges and universities.

Without a great deal of vigilance, the largest pool of Black enrollment in the country could be "desegregated" out of a continued fair share of its places. Also, educational programs built up over the years by Blacks could be turned over to whites who probably could not run them very well.

125

Workshops on Post-Secondary Education

Chairmen

Herman R. Branson
Andrew Billingsley
Benjamin Perry
Geraldine Woods
Wade Wilson

Recorders

Redelle Moore
Anthony Fitchue
Diane Lewis

MAJOR ISSUES

1. The merging of traditionally Black colleges with white institutions.

2. Legal obstacles in maintaining racial data in post-secondary educational institutions.

3. The relationship of public school systems to institutions of higher education.

4. The roles and relationships of junior and community colleges to other institutions.

5. Organization of Black university personnel.

6. Continuing education and technical schools.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The Congressional Black Caucus should lobby for increased data on the racial characteristics of post-secondary institutions.

2. The Congressional Black Caucus should bring two- and four-year colleges together to formulate policy on a regional basis.

3. The Congressional Black Caucus should investigate the mechanisms of collection of racial data and make efforts to redesign them.

4. The Congressional Black Caucus should establish a National Black Education Commission to develop educational guidelines.

5. The Congressional Black Caucus should work to have greater representation from the Black community in discussions of educational problems and priorities.

6. The Congressional Black Caucus should work to strengthen and support Black colleges and to prevent their merger with white institutions.

7. The Congressional Black Caucus should encourage the organization of Black university personnel at all levels.

Special Session

Introduction

Following the dialogue sessions scheduled for Friday afternoon, a number of the participants gathered in various caucuses to talk about the contents of the papers and discussions. Well over 100 conferees apparently felt there had not been enough discussion of the community control concept. Among the group were some who supported community control, some who did not, some who were neutral, and some who wanted more information on the concept. They decided to petition the Congressional Black Caucus to request time to make a presentation of this viewpoint at a Conference plenary session.

A committee was selected to present this request to the Chairman and the Project Director of the Conference. The delegates asked that time be set aside for a presentation advocating community control, to include, but not be limited to a discussion of CORE's unitary school plan. After meeting with the committee, the Chairman, Rep. Hawkins, polled the members of the Congressional Black Caucus. Those caucus members who were contacted agreed to a revision of the program to allow proponents of community control to speak. The committee and their constituency selected the following

persons to make remarks at the Saturday morning plenary session:

Chairman
Luther Seabrook, Principal
Intermediate School 44
New York City Public Schools
New York, N.Y.

Speakers

Roy Innis, Director
Congress of Racial Equality
New York, N.Y.

James Reed, Administrative Assistant to the Mayor
Etonville, Fla.

Robert S. Hoover, Member
Ravenswood City School Board
Ravenswood, Cal.

Ron Edmonds, Assistant Superintendent
Michigan State Department of Education
Lansing, Mich.

Queen Mother Moore
Universal Association of Ethiopian Women
New York, N.Y.

Following these speakers, the Chairman and the Project Director made brief summary remarks and the Conference was adjourned on schedule.

Roy Innis
Director, Congress of Racial Equality

What Roy Innis called "enlightened self-interest" is the view that "people can best deliver services to themselves." He said that enlightened self-interest is the basis for community control. Innis described the struggle for community control of the Intermediate School 201 in New York in which he was involved. He helped to shift Black community concerns from integration (50 percent Black with 50 percent Puerto Rican) to community control of their school. "We did not win that struggle," he said, "because the liberal establishment in New York, led by the Mayor, was able to put forth the image of a 'nigger's best friend' and we know how Black folks can be fooled by that—and they were."

What happened in the I.S. 201 school district, Innis said, was that three experimental school districts or sub-districts were created, but real power was not given to the Black community. "All that actually happened was that blame was decentralized without opportunity to guarantee success," he charged. The work of courageous and innovative people was inhibited by

conflict with the established organizations and leaders in New York City. Innis said that although "they did marvelous things here, they were unable to demonstrate clearly and unequivocably that Black people who control their own destinies and institutions can deliver a better quality and quantity of service than someone outside the Black community."

"The drive for community control nevertheless continues," he declared. "We, in CORE, have come up with a plan for community control of our schools, different from the segregationist plan (the Nixon-Wallace plan) which has been ruled illegal by the courts, and different from the integrationist plans being ordered by some of the lower courts."

Innis spoke of "racial exclusivity" and the "white power monopoly," two catchwords describing elements found in segregation. He called them diseases whose symptoms are spatial separation of Blacks and whites, inadequate resources, and powerlessness in the Black community. The Nixon plan—separate and equal schools—would pour money into poor Black schools, but would not affect the white power monopoly. "The CORE plan calls for creating school districts in such a way that Blacks will be that power monopoly in their own communities—their districts. We are talking about creating two districts, two boards, two school systems in an area—one Black and the other white." The boundaries, he added, would conform to Black-white housing patterns; thus Harlem, for example, would be a large school district with about 40,000 to 50,000 students.

"Those among us who prefer integrated education would be free to attend schools in the white district. The CORE plan," he asserted, "is eminently fair. It seems to satisfy the needs of those who want more power and control over our institutions and it does it without infringing on the rights of those who need to receive services from an institution in which whites are a majority."

Innis suggested that his plan would destroy racial exclusivity, and white power monopoly; would allow maximum freedom of choice for both Blacks and whites; would stop the flight of the middle class from the cities; would encourage participation of Black parents in their children's educations; and, he hoped, "will keep this country from going toward George Wallace."

Robert S. Hoover
Member of the Ravenswood City School Board Ravenswood, California

Robert Hoover is from a Black community in California of about 26,000 people. It's small, it's isolated, and it has the unique advantage (for California at least) of having a school district that is located almost entirely within its boundaries. Ravenswood citizens can elect a board of education who are really members of the community.

"During the past five years," said Hoover, "we have come into power. Ravenswood schools went through the transition from white to Black in a period of about ten years—from about 1957 to 1967—and as the community and schools got Blacker, the quality of education got lower."

From 1962, the year Hoover moved into Ravenswood, until 1966, there were great struggles in the community for integrated education. They continued until Stokely Carmichael came to town one day. He suggested community control as an alternative to the Black struggle to integrate the schools against the white

struggle to keep them as they were. "Stokely said that what we need to be talking about is control of our institutions—our destinies," Hoover said. "And a group of people who had been working hard for integration began to turn around and take a second look and to ask themselves, 'why isn't it possible for *us* to educate our own children?' "

This question was extremely relevant, because the Black children of Ravenswood were not doing very well in the schools as run by the present system, and their parents and the other Black community people knew that there was nothing wrong with the children. The children's scores on reading ability as compared with the national norm looked like this:

First Grade:	50th percentile
Second Grade:	35th percentile
Third Grade:	25th percentile

Community control was approached through a school board election. In 1967, the school board was composed of three whites, one Black, and one Chicano. Two Blacks were nominated for the election that year, one of them being Hoover. Through a magnificent community effort, and much support from the local Black high school students, they won. "With a Black majority on the school board, things began to move," Hoover said. "The first thing we did was to establish a citizens' committee to look at the reading situation in our community. They spent eight months doing an in-depth study, and ended up with a report making 26 recommendations for changes in the Ravenswood School District's reading program. The school board implemented every one of them."

The two most critical recommendations of the citizens' committee concerned reading methods and teacher training. The committee found that teachers in California are free to use any of the 16 or so reading methods approved by the State Board of Education, and Ravenswood teachers seemed to be using all of them, Hoover reported. "They found students being taught by the ITA method in first grade, the Sullivan in second, the Ginn in third, and so on," he said. "The children were totally confused. And if one happened to transfer in the middle of the

year, he wouldn't know where he was. There was no consistency or continuity in the program."

The committee also found that only 25 percent of the teachers in the district had ever had a course in teaching reading. "Not only were they using all the methods known to man," Hoover observed, "but they didn't even know how to use them."

The school board selected a single reading program using a phonics method and began its implementation. They also instituted a massive teacher training program that not only dealt with the teaching of basic skills, but also with attitudes. "We had to implement the reading program year by year because it would have been too expensive to change all the grades at once. This year we are into the fourth grade, and the results have been very good. In 1968, prior to the implementation of the new program, it was predicted from kindergarten test scores that roughly half of the children in our school district would fail in the first grade. In 1971, only 41 children out of a total of 562 kindergarten children were singled out as potential failures in first grade. The same positive pattern is repeated in the first, second, and third grades, where the children are reading above grade level," Hoover said. "The district is 90 percent Black, we haven't bused anybody anywhere, we've demanded that teachers teach, and we have been successful."

James Reed

Administrative Assistant to the Mayor

Etonville, Florida

"If you look around this country at court-ordered 'integration,'" Jim Reed stated, "you will recognize that about 95 percent of it is concentrated in the South. I lived in the North for awhile and I didn't hear Black people yelling 'we want more busing' or 'we want more integration.' In the North they were talking about community control. I think it is hypocritical for anyone to come down to the South and insist that they have the right to impose on us a system that has failed in the North. And integration *has* failed."

Community control, which presupposes economic control, is the real issue in Jim Reed's eyes. "The one thing that busing proponents never discuss with you," he said, "is economics, and I think that this is a very fundamental thing that we've got to deal with." The Congress of Racial Equality Community Control School Plan is a step toward making community control a reality in Orange County, Florida. "It calls for dividing the county along natural community lines into four independent

districts, one of which would contain a majority of Black people who would be in control of an $18 million annual budget. Furthermore, we would be in a position to do the hiring and the firing, and to award contracts for building all the facilities necessary to accommodate the anticipated 7,000 additional new students we get annually," Reed added.

It is Jim Reed's belief that, "progress can only be made by gaining control of Black institutions for education, developing them, and maintaining them. And by the term 'Black institutions for education' I don't just mean Black institutions of higher learning. I mean all Black educational institutions—lower, secondary, and higher."

The last point Reed made was about the Courts, specifically the *Brown* decision. He views the educational system as being "like a pyramid divided into three parts: at the top, those who control; in the middle, the administrators and those who teach; and on the bottom, the children. In the *Brown* decision and the implementation that came out of it, we dealt with only one level," he said, "the bottom." "Furthermore," Reed observed, "this Court decision not only did not set up a safeguard structure whereby Black people could be truly represented, truly elect and protect their own interests, but it, in addition, permitted the loss of whatever power they did have in the separate but unequal school systems."

Ron Edmonds
Assistant Superintendent
Michigan State Department of Education

It is a basic assumption of this discussion that the present judicial perception of the means by which Black Americans should obtain redress of educational grievance is not in the best interest of Black Americans.

The Federal Courts have inadvertently developed an educational ideology that consists of the assumptions that: (1) segregation in public instruction is illegal; (2) justice for Black children requires that those children attend schools where the majority of the students are white; and, (3) Black pupil performance need not be considered since 1 and 2 automatically improve performance.

By defining integration as an educational setting in which Black children are in the minority and are likely to remain so, court-ordered desegregation has often been as coercive for Black parents as for white. The coercion occurs because substantial portions of the Black community have developed considerable doubt about the positive relationship between court-ordered integration and Black pupil performance and thus, given a

choice, might not send their children to judicially integrated schools.

The court's disinterest in Black pupil performance has its origin in the nature of 1954 *Brown* decision. The most important assumptions in the *Brown* decision's description of the relationship between race and education can be summarized as follows:

A. The existence in the United States of state-imposed white schools is accompanied by the discriminatory treatment of those schools. That discrimination consists of inequitable distribution of educational resources such as to deny to Black children the minimal resources prerequisite to proper schooling.

B. Even if the distribution of educational resources is made equitable, justice will still be denied Black children, because state-imposed segregation persuades Black children that they are inferior and their belief in their inferiority interferes with their ability to acquire school skills.

C. Therefore, appropriate Black pupil performance must be preceded by Black pupils being mixed with white pupils.

The research literature since 1954 compels the following summary with respect to the basic premises in the *Brown* decision. Under court-ordered integration, some Black pupils do better, some Black pupils do about the same and some Black pupils do worse. Therefore, court-ordered desegregation, in and of itself, is an insufficient and sometimes inappropriate response to the present inequity that characterizes public instruction for Black children.

In 1954, Black advocates were nearly unanimous in their commitment to the belief that educational integration was synonymous with justice for Black children. That unanimity had its origin in the nature of American race relations between 1865 and 1965. In decisions like *Cruikshank*, *Reese* and *Harris*, the Supreme Court was instrumental in denying to Black Americans choices as to the means of their redress of grievance.

Black efforts at political, economic and social progress were thwarted by a national climate that was codified in these decisions. The NAACP led the legal assault on the Supreme

Court's narrow and perverse perception of citizenship for Black Americans. The NAACP appropriately defined the Supreme Court as hostile to any activity that could be characterized as a Black attempt at self-improvement.

It is, therefore, understandable that the ideology of the NAACP should historically have spurned discussion of racial difference and espoused, as its goal, a society virtually unaware of the difference between being Black and white. Since the arena in which the NAACP carried on its principal struggle was the law, and since its adversary was most often the Supreme Court, integration seemed the most efficacious form of redress of Black grievance.

Such circumstances help to explain why American history does not identify effective and successful organizations devoted to political or economic redress of grievance for Blacks.

In summary, Black Americans were denied choices as to the means of their redress of grievance because Supreme Court decisions, in concert with other characteristics of American life, had the effect of making any organized Black activity that was not legalistic, impractical. We, therefore, find ourselves observing a historic dialogue between the federal judiciary and the NAACP with the inference that the NAACP ideology of integration represents the best interests of Black Americans in all circumstances.

Nothing in this discussion should be construed as critical of the NAACP. The NAACP is unchallenged in the consistency and sincerity of its commitment to the cause of Black Americans. What is suggested is that no single ideology, such as integration, should bear the burden of representing so extensive a portion of the population.

Since it has already been noted that integration improves performance for some Black pupils, then we must continue our interest in integrated education. However, if circumstances compel improved Black pupil performance in majority Black settings, then we must attend to that also, partly by challenging demonstrably ineffective educational ideologies like integration as presently pursued by the courts.

Judicial hostility to majority Black schools reinforces the national belief that majority Black schools are bad schools. Such

a belief insures that integration in education must continue to reflect preference for middle-class, white behavior and precludes the possibility of identifying or developing appropriate Black educational behavior in a majority Black setting. Since majority Black settings are, and will remain, a part of American life, it is a disservice to preclude attention to that fact.

Finally, redefining integration so as to make it more culturally democratic and thus more educationally effective may ultimately depend on developing effective instruction for majority Black schools.

What is, therefore, concluded is that Black Americans have not had choices of the means of their deliverance from societal disability. The Supreme Court, and other factors in American life inadvertently conspired to compell integration as a means of racial redress to the exclusion of all other means of redress.

This discussion recommends that the judicial basis for evaluating desegregation proposals be expanded to include pupil performance and other variables responsive to the needs of Black Americans. This discussion finally recommends that extraordinary means to achieve integration, such as metropolitan cross-district busing, be undertaken only after exhaustive inquiry compels the conclusion that no other means of redressing Black grievance would be effective. Exhaustive inquiry requires far more reliable data on the relationship between court-ordered integration and Black pupil performance than has thus far been available.

Since these remarks are intended to assist those who contribute to desegregation litigation, it would be inappropriate to conclude without some reference to the minimal prerequisites to educational equity in those instances where the courts are compelled to respond to segregation. To be just, as well as legal, court-ordered desegregation must be characterized by the following minimal characteristics:

1. Judicially assured open housing in the entire area within the court's jurisdiction.
2. Judicially assured equity in the distribution of educational resources.
3. Judicial assurance that the desegregated setting shall afford the aggrieved Black citizens access to educational

decision-making in such manner as will make the school more appropriately responsive to the cultural characteristics of the Black community.

4. Judicial assurance that desegregation will be characterized by Black pupil acquisition of school skills at least equal to white pupil acquisition of school skills with the inference that all public schools can be held accountable for providing all public school children demonstrable acquisition of basic school skills.
5. Judicial assurance that the desegregation proposal shall eliminate all discriminatory pupil placement.

This discussion, taken as a whole, confirms premises A and B of the 1954 *Brown* decision as recited earlier.

This discussion recommends the following as a replacement for *Brown's* original premise C.

C. Opposition to segregation need not imply opposition to majority Black schools. Majority Black schools can be appropriate and effective education settings for all children when the majority Black school is characterized by:
   1. Black residence that is a function of choice rather than discrimination.
   2. Equity in the distribution of the community's educational resources.
   3. Attendance area majority control of the uses to which the school is to be put.
   4. Implementation of an accountability model whose goal is that all matriculating children be assured basic school skills in reading, writing and computation.
   5. Pupil assignment that is a function of residence and is free from discrimination.

Justice requires providing citizens choices. Integration as presently perceived by the federal courts does not expand educational or cultural choices for Black citizens. Morality, logic and pragmatism compel the recommendation that this discussion become a part of the Black advocate's perspective on how best to achieve equity in the social order.

Queen Mother Moore
Universal Association of Ethiopian Women

Queen Mother Moore describes the Universal Association of Ethiopian Women as an organization that was formed "to support our brothers." It began in Louisiana when Black men were being executed, according to Queen Mother Moore, at the rate of two per week. The women got together to "do a little research to try to understand why that was happening to Black people." They talked about the status of Black people in America, reparation, and even began to question the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution for imposing citizenship on Blacks "without our consent."

After making us citizens, Queen Mother Moore said, those in power at the time passed "Black laws which nullified the very benefits of the very citizenship that they imposed on us. The reason we accepted all that was because we were 'Negroes.'" The *Negro* mind, as opposed to the *Black* mind, according to Queen Mother Moore, "has let us concentrate on the non-essential things when we have left essential things

unattended—like fighting to integrate the Mummers' parade, the white barber shops, even the Mafia."

Queen Mother Moore feels one of the "essential things" is the reparations her group is demanding to partially repay Black people for "changing our names, cutting us off from our inheritance," and for atrocities such as the sale, by the U.S. Government, on July 18, 1847, of two Black women for $530.00, which was deposited in the U.S. Treasury. The Ethiopian Women would like the interest on that sale price returned to Black people. She reported that on December 20, 1962, members of her organization filed through the courts for reparations. That date was chosen because it was 100 years after Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

Queen Mother Moore said in conclusion that no organization can match the Ethiopian Woman, "—and we don't have one dollar in our treasury. We're not running on money. We're running on heart and soul."

Appendix

Occupational and Geographical Breakdown of Conference Participants

Participants at the National Policy Conference on Education for Blacks numbered 722 individuals, 95 percent of whom were Black. Although the Conference was originally designed to accommodate only 600 people, the response to the Conference was such that room was made for 122 of the more than 200 additional persons seeking admission.

The conferees were from various age groups, occupations, and sections of the country. Educators, parents, students, elected and appointed officials as well as government agency employees, human services specialists, and mass media workers were among those who came to discuss the educational issues confronting Blacks at this critical period in our history.

As one might expect, educators made up the largest group of Conference participants, with a total of 299. Included in this category are teachers, counselors, and school administrators of all levels. Fifty-eight persons associated with community organizations and 108 educational organization staff members were in attendance.

An achievement of the Conference was the fact that it drew 86 students to participate in and contribute to the dialogue concerning educational policy issues. This was almost 12 percent of the total. This significant representation—students attending high school, college, graduate and professional schools—was due in no small part to the fact that Conference organizers made special efforts to increase participation by means of a lower student registration fee, financial assistance from sponsoring groups, and by extending invitations to student organizations.

In addition the categories identified above, twelve congressional staff members were involved in the Conference either as staff workers or participants. Elected and appointed officials comprised 7 percent of the sum of Conference participants. This included five members of the Congressional Black Caucus who participated actively in the Conference.

Residents of thirty-five states plus the District of Columbia attended the Conference. Although more than 50 percent of the participants live along the eastern seaboard, conferees came from as far away as California, which had 53 representatives.

A breakdown of the occupations and states of participants is provided on the following pages.

Occupational Categories

EDUCATORS (Elementary, Secondary and Higher Education)	
Professors, Teachers, Counselors	116
School Administrators	91
College and University Administrators	12
Other	65
EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION STAFF	93
STUDENTS	86
GOVERNMENT STAFF	
Federal	37
State and Local	38
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION REPRESENTATIVES	55
BLACK OFFICIALS	
School Board Members and Trustees	35
Other Elected Officials	14
PARENTS	36
LAWYERS	14
CONGRESSIONAL STAFF MEMBERS	12
PSYCHOLOGISTS and SOCIAL WORKERS	7
MINISTERS	6
COMMUNICATIONS and MEDIA STAFF	5
TOTAL	722

State Representation

Alabama	10	Mississippi	9
Arizona	4	Missouri	4
California	53	Montana	1
Colorado	1	New Jersey	31
Connecticut	14	New York	86
Delaware	4	North Carolina	14
District of Columbia	184	Ohio	31
Florida	6	Oklahoma	4
Georgia	24	Oregon	1
Illinois	17	Pennsylvania	32
Indiana	7	Rhode Island	5
Iowa	3	South Carolina	19
Kansas	1	Tennessee	6
Louisiana	7	Texas	10
Maryland	40	Virginia	23
Massachusetts	25	Washington	4
Michigan	32	West Virginia	3
Minnesota	4	Wisconsin	3
		TOTAL	722

149

Several of the papers presented at the Conference have been published and are listed below. Others are available from the authors. At the time the Conference Proceedings went to press, eight of the presentations had been inserted into the *Congressional Record*. The remaining presentations will be entered into the *Record* during the next few months.

Bell, Derrick A., Jr.	*Congressional Record*, Vol. 118, No. 60, Tuesday, April 18, 1972, pp. E 3851-3855.
	Inequality in Education, No. 11, March 1972, p. 35; Harvard Center for Law and Education, 38 Kirkland Street, Cambridge, Mass. 02138.
Clark, Kenneth	*Congressional Record*, Vol. 118, No. 57, Wednesday, April 12, 1972, pp. E 3566-3569.
Gilmore, Richard	*Congressional Record*, Vol. 118, No. 60, Tuesday, April 18, 1972, pp. E 3886-3890.
Henderson, Vivian	*Congressional Record*, Vol. 118, No. 56, Tuesday, April 11, 1972, pp. E 3531-3533.
Lane, Hugh	*Congressional Record*, Vol. 118, No. 60, Tuesday, April 18, 1972, pp. E 3895-3898.
Moore, Evelyn	*Congressional Record*, Vol. 118, No. 57, Wednesday, April 12, 1972, pp. E 3577-3579.
Thomas, Arthur	*Congressional Record*, Vol. 118, No. 60, Tuesday, April 18, 1972, pp. E 3911-3921.
Wilcox, Preston	*Congressional Record*, Vol. 118, No. 60, Tuesday, April 18, 1972, pp. E 3900-3903.